

# IN THESE TIMES

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# THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS



Tom Hayden

## Fonda and Hayden tell students about participation

Tom Hayden and Jane Fonda's national tour, which began Sept. 23 in New York City and ended Oct. 25 in Milwaukee, aroused considerable interest in the Midwest. The press gave extensive coverage of the tour, and long lines greeted each Hayden-Fonda appearance.

Fonda, not Hayden, was the main attraction. People referred to their appearances as "Fonda speaking." At the Oct. 17 Big Oil rally in Chicago, where both spoke, the demonstrators greeted each successive speaker until Fonda with "Where's Jane?" and "Bring on Fonda."

As they did throughout their tour, Hayden and Fonda concentrated on campus appearances, but they also did their share of union receptions and benefits for local citizen groups and working women's organizations. In Des Moines, Iowa, they appeared at a United Auto Workers' convention. In Milwaukee, they appeared at a luncheon for Milwaukee '79, an electoral organization, and at a Wisconsin Education Association convention.

They avoided the elite private schools like the University of Chicago and Northwestern, but spoke at almost every other kind of college: Big Ten schools, including Hayden's alma mater, the University of Michigan; white suburban Grosvenor State in Chicago, where they were picketed by the John Birch Society; Catholic Marquette University in Milwaukee; and multi-racial urban working class University of Illinois at the Chicago Circle campus.

I got to see them at Chicago Circle. Circle is not known for its radicalism, nor for its intense interest in politics. It is a commuting school, and most of its students see their four years there as a step up from a wage to a salary, but not much farther. A Jerry Brown appearance in October had attracted a few hundred unenthusiastic students.

But Hayden and Fonda drew a mob. Students were lined up an hour before they were to appear, and when they finally filed in, there were at least a thousand inside, and many more who couldn't get in.

I was pleasantly surprised by the crowd, which belied recent rumors of student apathy and conservatism, and by Hayden and Fonda's speeches. There was little of the calculation or opportunism that had been noted at earlier Hayden-Fonda appearances. (ITT, Oct. 17) Instead, Hayden and Fonda drew out

single-mindedly the political and economic dissatisfaction that even the most conservative students feel and pointed it toward the concept of economic democracy.

### Expanded citizenship.

Hayden spoke first. He told the students that it was time "to extend our citizenship, our concept of ourselves, from passive consumers to active citizens in the world that companies now dominate." Hayden gave them a capsule history of the U.S. in which every political advance—from the Revolutionary War, to the Civil War, to the birth of industrial unionism, to the anti-war movement—had entailed an "expansion of what people mean by citizenship."

In the current era, Hayden said, the concept of citizenship would have to be expanded to encompass the economic decisions now reserved for private multinational corporations and their self-appointed boards of directors.

Hayden used the oil industry and the energy crisis to demonstrate the need for economic democracy. "If the oil industry and the large corporations cannot make decisions that are in the interests of the majority, the citizens have to make the decisions," Hayden said. He called for "taking control of the oil industry."

Hayden defended the idea of "public use of public resources," which he said had worked well enough in the case of universities, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and the Bonneville Power Authority.

Hayden also touched on the dangers of nuclear power, whose continued development he blamed on private corporate intransigence, and insisted on the need for Chrysler to open its board of directors and abandon its gas-guzzlers as a precondition of any government bailout. His attacks on oil company greed, nuclear power, and Chrysler brought bursts of applause.

### "I've had it."

Fonda's speech complemented Hayden's: it was personal, where Hayden's was global; it addressed the gnawing doubts that students have about their own future rather than their political preceptions of the world.

Like many such speeches, it had its awkward moments. A trace of condescension crept in when Fonda compared her life to the "average" lives of the students. But it was effective.

"I wasn't always someone so controversial," Fonda told the students. When she had been in school, she said, she had been very sweet and eager-to-please. Her first movies had been "silly." But she realized that "money, fame and power is not what it is all about. If that's all there is, you'll find yourself bored and boring. I decided to throw myself with people just like you—average people."

Fonda's admission that money was not everything—to students who will be lucky to make in a year what she makes in two weeks—brought resounding applause.

Fonda told the story of Rosa Parks, who sparked the civil rights movement when she refused to leave her seat in a Montgomery bus. Parks had been an "average citizen who one day had said, 'I've had it.'"

"I encourage you all to be Rosa Parks," she said.

Fonda has recently become interested in the plight of secretaries. During the tour, she did benefits for Working Women and Nine to Five, two organizations of clerical workers. She told the students at Circle that her next movie, *Nine to Five*, would be a comedy about three secretaries (herself, Dolly Parton, and Lily Tomlin) who fantasize about killing their boss.

Secretaries, Fonda said, were also beginning to say "I've had it." She urged the students to support an organizing drive at Circle.

During the question period, some hostile students from Circle's veterans' club asked Fonda her opinion of the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia. Fonda did not try to defend the Vietnamese, but insisted that the problems in Cambodia dated from the American attempt in the early '70s to overthrow Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

Most of the questioners simply wanted Hayden and Fonda to explain their positions more fully. One student wanted to know whether economic democracy meant a return to 19th century competitive capitalism. Hayden said that except for such examples as the family farm and the solar industry, he didn't think that "small-scale entrepreneurial capitalism" was a viable alternative to the rule of the big corporations.

Hayden thought that some "new kind of public enterprise" run by bureaucrats who were held accountable by elections was necessary. He didn't support, he said, nationalization by the current government, because that would be lead to bureaucratic inefficiency and isolation. As an interim step, Hayden said he favored putting public representatives on corporate boards.

One student expressed her bewilderment after the speeches. "What can we support? Who is running the country? Is Jimmy Carter running the country? What can we do?" she asked. Hayden and Fonda urged the creation of a "citizens' movement that can put people in office and take them out." They held out the example of their own organization, the Campaign for Economic Democracy (CED).

One student asked Fonda why she wasn't making a serious movie about secretaries. "I want to make a movie that deals with very serious themes that millions of people will see," she said. She admitted she was worried about making a dull "feminist tract."

### Neutral on 1980.

The tour was first announced at the Midterm Democratic Conference last December in Memphis. It was not designed, as some detractors claimed, as a front for the Jerry Brown campaign. To destroy this impression, Hayden and Fonda sought the participation in the tour of pro-Kennedy and anti-Brown labor leaders and politicians.

But it was originally tied, if only speculatively, to the idea of building a national CED. By the time the tour began, however, Hayden, Fonda, and CED seem to have dropped this idea. They are still too weak in California, CED leaders said, to begin going national. During the tour they received numerous queries about setting up CED chapters. They met them by urging activists to set up organizations or use existing ones to "run candidates on economic democracy issues."

Hayden and Fonda were questioned repeatedly about their presidential choice. They said that they will endorse someone early next year, and barring his withdrawal from the race, it is fairly certain that it will be Jerry Brown. During some of their national television appearances, they did hint at this preference, but at Circle and at other campus appearances they were militantly neutral. "In some way, Carter, Kennedy, and Brown are each sensitive to some of our issues," Hayden said to a questioner.

In an interview in Chicago, Hayden and Fonda attributed the success of their tour to its emphasis on economic democracy rather than any bill or candidate. "If we'd come in and were advancing a candidate or supporting a bill, we would have been ahead of where people were at. The students we've spoken to are in a state of creative confusion. They were born in one world and now they are living in another. They haven't seen a two-term president."

"And there is no candidate that encompasses our program."

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# UAW-Chrysler settlement breaks ground

By David Moberg

**T**HE UNITED AUTO WORKERS (UAW) broke a precedent and set a precedent with its settlement presented last week to union representatives at troubled Chrysler: no longer was there a basically uniform settlement at the "Big Three." Chrysler workers were asked to accept concessions worth \$203 million to the corporation, although they would return to parity with General Motors and Ford workers by the end of the three-year contract.

At the same time, the proposed agreement breaks new ground in another area: Chrysler managers agreed to nominate UAW president Douglas Fraser for a position on the corporate board of directors. Although the corporation avoided granting the union as an institution the slot among the representatives of banks and other financial institutions, the move introduces to American politics and labor a principle that is much more widely accepted in Europe.

If the weakened contract is approved in coming weeks, as expected, the union and company will undoubtedly exploit the workers' sacrifice in their Congressional lobbying effort for federal aid. Chrysler's announcement of a third quarter loss of \$483 million may also spur action. The Treasury has eased its objections to loan guarantees of over \$750 million, but many members of Congress remain wary of the bail-out proposals offered by Rep. James Blanchard and by Sen. Don Riegle, both of Michigan, where Chrysler's operations are centered.

Also, although the UAW has largely dropped its original proposal for any government aid to take the form of government equity ownership (and representatives of the public and of workers on the board of directors), an odd but powerful grouping of senators and a few representatives are demanding that any aid should bring substantial worker ownership through an employee stock ownership plan (ESOP).

## Worker representative.

The savings for Chrysler comes from three modifications in the "pattern" settlement. The three percent "annual improvement factor" wage increase will be delayed six months in the first year of the contract, four months in the second and two months in the third. Chrysler workers will have 20, instead of 26, paid personal holidays, the union steppingstones to a shorter work week. Also, their pension improvements will be 30 percent lower in the first year. By the end of the contract, the benefits and pay at Chrysler should match GM and Ford. "In a bad situation, we came out with a very important principle," UAW spokesperson Don Stillman said, "to get back to parity by the end of the contract."

The union agreed that Chrysler could put off payments of \$200 million into the pension plan for a year. By federal standards, the UAW says, the plan is overfunded, and the deferral will not hurt workers' retirement benefits.

Also, the UAW agreed not to "roll in" to the base pay the accumulated cost-of-living adjustments (COLA). That will hold down Chrysler's insur-

## The union gives something, and gets something in new contract

ance payments and any improvements in sickness and accident benefits. It also means that Chrysler will pay the accumulated \$1.37 in COLA—along with the new COLA increases—quarterly, instead of in the weekly paycheck. These moves effectively give Chrysler short-term loans and improve the corporate cash flow.

Although Fraser will clearly be outvoted on the board, the union leadership hopes that he will be able to press workers' concerns at that level, pick up useful information and use his position for "public whistle-blowing," according to Stillman. "We're conscious of the limitations of it," he said, "and we view ourselves in an adversarial role. It's just another avenue to fight for the rank and file."

American union leaders have typically rejected proposals for union representation or participation in management in favor of precisely that "adversarial" relationship. However, the UAW—which is closer in many of its policies to the social democratic and some socialist strains of the Western European labor movement than most American unions—introduced the demand for worker representation in its 1976 negotiations with Chrysler. Fraser has claimed that if worker interests had been heard at top corporate levels, the corporation might not have made the mistakes it has and might have stressed smaller, more efficient, and safe cars.

Although a number of Western European countries passed laws in the early part of this decade requiring some form of worker representation on boards of large corporations, most studies so far do not suggest that such corporate enfranchisement brings any substantial change. Observers often credit worker voices in top-level management with tempering traditional authoritarianism or with reducing conflict, but when managers of Germany's steel industry—where there is a long history of statutory "co-determination"—decided to lay off thousands of workers and fight a reduced work week demand last winter, workers had no choice but to go out on strike.

## European precedent.

Apart from socialist and communist demands for total worker control of the economy, there has been a long history of reformist proposals to involve workers in an "industrial democracy." After World War II, when the Labor government was in power in Great Britain and the Allies were concerned about German industrialists once again playing the role they had as a bulwark of Hitler, a scheme of "co-determination" was instituted in the German coal and steel industries. German unions had hoped that the principle of indirect, minority worker representation at the level equiv-



Doug Fraser, UAW president.

alent to the board of directors would be extended to all of industry and perhaps strengthened, but it took until 1976 for a more general, weak proposal to be enacted. Austria, Denmark, the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden also require employee representation on the boards of some corporations.

Despite the at most modestly successful track record of worker representation on boards of directors in Europe and the even more limited, non-statutory power that Fraser will have, advocates of greater worker control in the U.S. are cheered by the move. "I think it's an important departure from past practice and policy of either major unions or companies," Cornell sociology professor William F. Whyte says. "Not only had corporations opposed it, but unions hadn't wanted to assume management."

Most sympathetic observers also stress the limits. "The most it would mean is that the union would have greater access to information," David Kotz, author of *Bank Control of Large Corporations in the U.S.*, says. "They face the basic dilemma: they're within capitalism. If they don't pursue profits, they're in trouble, and a board member can be sued if he doesn't pursue the best interests of the stockholders."

Fraser could—and probably would—still be excluded from the most important informal meetings and secret information, yet—as Bill Behn of the Center for Economic Studies observes—technically Fraser is obliged to represent the interest of the shareholders, even though he wants to advocate worker interests. There are conflicts, obviously, and in Europe, Behn says, "that legal issue sort of sits there," subject to shifts in political winds.

Even more significantly, as Whyte argues, "if you have only worker participation at the board of director level, it's not going to be very effective in bringing about greater productivity"—or real worker democracy. Even strong ESOPs do not generally bring about real changes in day-to-day work by themselves.

## Stock ownership.

Many worker control advocates are

cheered that a powerful bloc in Congress—including Senators Robert Byrd, Russell Long, Gaylord Nelson and Donald Steward and Rep. Peter Kostmayer—has insisted that one-fourth or more (Byrd says 100 percent) of any federal aid to Chrysler be channeled through Employee Stock Ownership Plans.

ESOPs have become the darling of the Senate this year, despite the lack of any public groundswell of support. Although a few liberals were at first cautious about them, fearing they might appear too "socialistic," that worry was allayed when right-wingers like Sen. Orrin Hatch of Utah jumped on the bandwagon. At that point, labor—cautious in any case about ESOPs—became even more suspicious; could anything Hatch favored be good for workers?

The UAW is "open to talking about" the ESOP-channeled aid, Stillman says, "but the idea is one thing and the specific application another." Indeed, some ESOPs are set up with workers having no direct voting power of their stocks. Those plans contribute capital to industry, but do not further democracy in the least.

But Corey Rosen of the Senate Small Business Committee staff says that the plan embodied in the Riegle bill would cost workers nothing, would distribute shares per person rather than according to salary levels, would give workers stock and voting rights, and would essentially be paid for through dilution of the value of existing shares.

Chrysler would also gain tax benefits for its part of any loan repayment to the federal government that was channeled through the ESOP. Although the corporation has not publicly supported the plan, they have privately indicated that "if that's what they have to do, then they'll do it," Rosen says.

Properly constructed, an ESOP would complement Fraser's role on the board and contribute symbolically—and to a small extent substantially—to the expansion of corporate democracy. Yet it should not be construed, nearly everyone agrees, as either genuine worker democracy or control or as a fundamental change in the constraints that capitalism imposes. ■



# IN SHORT

## T.M.I. panel refuses to ban the 'inevitable' nuke accident

The President's Commission on the Accident at Three Mile Island concluded last week that another "accident like Three Mile Island was eventually inevitable" but did not advocate a shut-down of the nation's 72 operating nuclear reactors or a moratorium on construction.

The 12-member commission's 179-page report to President Carter claimed "tolerable limits" on nuclear risks can be obtained, but only through a fundamental change in construction, operation and regulation of nukes, including scrapping the Nuclear Regulatory Commission and giving the executive branch control over the industry.

It added that even if every precaution



were taken, there was "no guarantee that there will be no serious future nuclear accidents."

Half of the commission voted to halt construction at the country's 91 nuclear power sites, but a procedural rule requiring seven votes blocked the hoped for moratorium.

The commission also claimed there wouldn't be any or at least so few cases of cancer from TMI radiation leaks as to be undetectable. But the commission did say the nuclear power industry could die if public confidence in nuclear energy is destroyed by a lack of "fundamental changes."

## Judge drops case against Philly cops

Federal Eastern District Judge J. William Ditter has dismissed the major portion of the government's lawsuit charging Philadelphia Mayor Frank Rizzo and other city officials with condoning police brutality.

Ditter said then-Attorney General Griffin Bell's civil rights suit was out of line in part because the individual victims of brutality, not the Attorney General's office, should bring suit.

The Nixon administration appointee to the court also criticized "sensational public statements" by government lawyers who had charged Philadelphia police with shooting non-violent suspects and other brutality that "shocks the conscience."

Rizzo called the judge's decision "a triumph for the rule of law rather than self-serving political interests in the Justice Department."

## Birmingham elects a black mayor

The city once equated with racism and rednecks—Birmingham, Ala.—has elected elected a black mayor.

Sixty-eight percent of the city's voters chose city council member and educator Richard Arrington, 45, by an unofficial, less than 3,000 vote margin over "law and order" lawyer and businessman Frank Parsons.

Parson's campaign aides included Joe Reid, a former campaign manager for Eugene "Bull" Connor, the former police chief who used attack dogs and fire hoses against civil rights activists in 1963.

Arrington, a liberal two-term council member with a doctorate in zoology in operator of a group of black colleges, said his victory "underscores the kind of racial progress we've made in this city."

## Smile when you swing that club

New Hampshire's Gov. Hugh Gallen thinks burly, helmeted cops with clubs and mace fighting anti-nuclear protesters are bad public relations for the besieged Seabrook nuclear site.

For the next demonstration, a Gallen aide is quoted by the *Boston Globe*, the governor is expected to allow reporters and cameras on the other side of the fence.

The *Globe* said despite pleas from Gallen's office, the Public Service Company of New Hampshire—which owns half of Seabrook's stock—has refused to let the media cover demonstrations from the inside. That, according to a governor's spokesman, tends to link nuclear energy with tear gas and give demonstrators a public relations victory.

## Democrat Agenda to meet Nov. 16

Senator Edward Kennedy is tentatively slated to speak at the Democratic Agenda's conference of leftist and liberal labor, environmental and civil rights activists at Washington beginning Nov. 16.

The Democratic Agenda Coalition, which organized opposition to federal budget cuts at the Democratic Party's

December mid-term convention at Memphis, plans to outline a left and liberal strategy for the party and organize support for 1980 national convention delegates.

Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee leader Michael Harrington, whose group organized the event, is expected to speak along with environmentalist and Citizens Party member Barry Commoner.

Other supporters and speakers include representatives Ron Dellums, Barbara Mikulski, John Conyers and Robert Kastenmeier.

Labor leaders Douglas Fraser, Machinists president William Winpisinger and AFSCME chief Jerry Wurf are also expected to participate.

Delegates from more than 30 states (1977's Democratic Agenda drew more than 1,000 activist Democrats), plan a White House rally as part of their challenge to Carter administration

policies and corporate power.

Conference registration (\$20 includes a luncheon) begins Nov. 16 at the International Inn on Thomas Circle in Washington, D.C.

For more information, contact the Democratic Agenda, 853 Broadway, Suite 617, New York, N.Y. 10003 (212) 260-3270.

## Court rules against athletic violence

The Supreme Court has upheld a professional football player's right to sue another player for intentionally hurting him.

The high court backed a lower court decision that permitted former Denver Broncos defensive back Dale Hackbart to sue former Cincinnati Bengals' running back Charles "Boobie" Clark, now with the Houston Oilers.

Hackbart claims his neck fracture in a 1973 game after being hit during a play was not part of the game. He said he was kneeling and watching a pass interception by a teammate when Clark struck him in the back of the neck. Hackbart retired two weeks after the injury.

In Hackbart and Clark's first courtroom scrimmage, a judge ruled physical contact is a "common and frequent characteristic of professional football," despite Clark's admission that he hit Hackbart out of "anger and frustration" because his team was losing.



Manuel Contreras Sepulveda.

## House members slam Chilean court

A resolution co-sponsored by 50 members of the House of Representatives has been introduced to express "the outrage of the United States Congress" over the Chilean Supreme Court's refusal to extradite three former secret police agents for the 1976 bombing murders of exiled leftist Chilean diplomat Orlando Letelier and his American aide, Ronni Moffitt, in downtown Washington, D.C.

The resolution calls for "strong sanctions" against the right-wing Pinochet regime for "harboring terrorists" and demands that President Carter suspend U.S. private bank loans to Chile.

In a related move, a federal judge has put a freeze on the bank withdrawal of \$25,000 that is believed to be part of the getaway money for Cuban exiles involved in the murders.

The bank account freeze came after Letelier's widow Isabel and Moffitt's widower Michael discovered Manuel Contreras Sepulveda, the former Chilean secret police director indicted in the U.S. for the murders, planned to withdraw the money in December.

The bank account is the first direct link between Contreras and the Cuban exile team that aided DINA (secret police) agent Michael Vernon Townley in the killings.

Townley testified the money had been promised to the Cubans to help them flee the country in January 1978. Two of five Cubans involved are still fugitives.



### Buy Gasohol

**SUPPORT AMERICAN HOME GROWN FUEL**



## Put a corncob in your tank

Congress has been on an alcohol fuels binge in recent months.

Gasohol—a 10 percent alcohol, 90 percent gasoline blend—can be used in today's cars and gives about the same performance as regular gasoline.

Members of the Agriculture committees on Capitol Hill have been pushing hard for programs to stimulate alcohol fuel production. Since most alcohol fuel will be produced from crops like corn, they see alcohol and small-scale distilling as a potentially rich new source of farm income and a way for farmers to become more energy-independent.

"The demand for these small-scale plants is as intense as anything I've seen in public life," said George McGovern, D-S.D., ranking member of the Senate Agriculture Committee. "It's an issue that has just taken off, partly because of the desire of farmers to control their own fuel supply."

Gasohol is already a booming business in some states. In Iowa, for example, gasohol sales increased from 600,000 gallons last November to a high of 6.1 million gallons in July. Sales leveled off to 4.4 million gallons in Sep-

tember as the end of the vacation season reduced overall fuel consumption. The retail price in Iowa has ranged from 96 cents to \$1.04 a gallon.

Even the oil companies, once skeptical about gasohol, now seem generally—and perhaps even mildly supportive. Four major oil firms—Amoco, Texaco, Phillips Petroleum and Cities Service—have begun test marketing gasohol, and other companies are considering similar programs.

But business is booming only because of federal and state tax breaks. Without them, gasohol would be too expensive to be competitive.

Last year the federal government exempted gasohol from the federal motor fuel excise tax, a subsidy worth four cents per gallon. In addition, 16 states give gasohol a break on state gas taxes.

Those tax breaks make gasohol almost competitive with gasoline. In most states it sells for about two cents per gallon more than premium unleaded.

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# IN THE NATION



Anti-nuclear demonstrators blocked access to Wall Street offices, Oct. 29.

## ANTI-NUKE

# Wall Street behind barricades

By Patrick Lacefield

NEW YORK

**T**RADING WAS LIGHT, ONLY A little over eight million shares, and the Dow Jones was off .68. But the real news Oct. 29 was outside the New York Stock Exchange where 1,500 demonstrators brought their anti-nuclear message to the financial nerve center of the nation.

On the 50th anniversary of the 1929 Stock Market Crash, more than 1,000 demonstrators were arrested attempting to "close down the Stock Exchange" to dramatize the role of 62 corporate members of the Stock Exchange in promoting research and development into nuclear power and nuclear weapons.

The protest, dubbed the Wall Street Action, was endorsed by over 100 national and local anti-nuclear, peace and social change groups, including New Hampshire's Clamshell Alliance, the War Resisters League, SHAD Alliance, American Committee on Africa and the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee. It drew participants from a dozen states and Canada. On Sunday, Oct. 28, more than 2,000 people rallied in front of the World Trade Center in a driving rainstorm to hear Daniel Ellsberg, trade unionist Henry Foner, writer Grace Paley and activists from the black, Puerto Rican and anti-apartheid struggles decry nuclear power and weapons and call for funding human needs and supporting human rights.

Foner, in announcing the Fur Workers' official endorsement of the action, called on labor to swell the ranks of nuclear power foes. "No one will ever accuse this crowd of being summer soldiers sunshine patriots," Foner said, to the cheers of the rain-drenched assembled.

Early Monday, anti-nuclear protesters converged on five checkpoints guarded by 800 New York police around a four-block area of the Exchange cordoned off by barricades. The Stock Exchange issued special identification badges and forbade employees from taking the day off except in "extenuating circumstances" in an attempt to thwart the shut-down attempt. Many upper-echelon workers actually spent Sunday night inside the Exchange while hundreds of

others reported to work before dawn, encouraged by the Exchange's promise of overtime pay. To avoid the protesters' plans to chain Exchange doors shut, officials removed the handles from all outside doors.

"The Exchange takes no position regarding nuclear energy," said Vincent Plaza of the Exchange, in one of several memos to employees on the protest, it recognized "the groups' right to demon-

strate. However, we will operate on October 29, 1979," it said.

By 7:30 a.m., one hour earlier than originally planned, more than a thousand demonstrators, organized into affinity groups, arrived at the checkpoints and sat down or linked arms, blocking egress for Exchange employees. Chants of "Stop Radiation, Take a Vacation" and "two, four, six, eight—The Market Will Not Operate"

rang out through the chilly morning air at the corner of Broad and Wall Streets, at the foot of the statue of George Washington.

Several protesters, including Daniel Ellsberg and David Dellinger, walked through police barricades unhindered and got as far as the Exchange door before they were arrested. Police, attempting to clear paths for employees, resorted to clubs on occasion and even sought to clear away demonstrators by riding horses into the crowds. Several protesters caught flying hooves and sustained minor injuries.

Reaction to the demonstration by those inconvenienced seemed mixed. Cheers shook the area on several occasions when Exchange employees, after conversing with protesters, decided to take the day off. At other checkpoints, acrimonious exchanges between demonstrators and workers were common.

Beginning at 8 a.m. and continuing until nearly 2 p.m. police arrested 1,045 people, requisitioning city buses to haul them to police headquarters in Manhattan and Brooklyn. All those detained were charged with disorderly conduct and those who went limp and had to be carried into the police vans and buses—as the great majority chose to do—with resisting arrest.

It was the largest number ever arrested in a political protest in New York—second only to the 3,700 detained during the 1977 blackout here among all the arrests in the city's history. Many protesters processed quickly on buses and at outside staging areas returned to Wall Street by early afternoon to be arrested a second time. More than 300 protesters refused to cooperate with the police and were held for arraignment.

"They certainly had the people they needed to operate the Exchange," Ed Hedemann of the War Resisters League told IN THESE TIMES. "But if nothing else we drew attention to the connections between the financial powers—that be and the nuclear industry," he said.

## OIL

# Record profits to continue rising

By David Moberg

**T**HE THIRD QUARTER PROFIT statements from the oil companies inspired cartoonists to sketch old-fashioned gushers of dollars and would be populist politicians from the White House on down to talk about the obscenity and pornography of such triumphant capitalism. The striking financial reports may have goosed the House of Representatives to reverse its earlier, unexpected dropping of gasoline price controls and to approve an inadequate \$1.35 billion in winter fuel assistance to the poor and elderly. They also provoked the Council on Wage and Price Stability to call for an investigation, and President Carter to talk tougher about the need for a strong windfall profits tax. None of this offers respite from rapidly rising oil prices and profits in the near future. Only the budding recession—which will cut people's buying power—is held out as a force that might slow the upward spiral a tiny bit.

Even for a profit-bloated industry, the figures were spectacular. Sixteen of the top U.S. oil companies reported third quarter profits of \$5.5 billion, a 105 percent increase—more than double—from the same time last year (when profits were healthy even if not spectacular). That translates into a 23.6 percent return on investment at an annual rate. Last year American industry averaged 15.3 percent return on investment. So the oil companies are bettering that by more than half.

Some of the most spectacular jumps

in profit went to Exxon (up 118 percent), Texaco (211 percent), Mobil (131 percent), Conoco (113 percent) and Sohio (191 percent). Sohio weighed in best with a 59.3 percent return on investment.

"It demonstrates that OPEC is not the sole reason we're being ripped off," Bob Brandon, co-director of the Labor Energy Coalition, said. "The companies are making a fortune on higher-priced oil."

In their defense, the oil companies argue that higher profits are good for everybody (eventually bringing more oil or other energy), and besides they didn't make the money off Americans anyway (it came mainly from overseas). But critics contend that their defenses are misleading.

OPEC may be taking the lead in jacking up the prices, but the oil companies are doing their part. In any case, "as OPEC steams along, the oil companies do very well in their wake," oil economist Joseph Lerner observes. They make substantial profits from inventories and the value of all the oil they pump—or hold—goes up dramatically. Despite various nationalizations, major international companies still hold much overseas oil. Also, the roughly one-third of domestic oil that is now exempt from controls sells at the world price. Often it's even higher, with some domestic oil now selling for \$31 a barrel, well above the \$23.50 ceiling set by OPEC (and now being broken by some of its members).

Despite the rising take on domestic oil, there are still gradually loosening controls. Otherwise the oil company profits would have been far greater. Just how much greater was suggested when

the Senate Finance Committee revised its estimates of the cost of decontrol to reflect price hikes that are likely to accelerate much faster than anticipated. The cost over 10 years to the American public was more than doubled to \$1.1 trillion. The original Carter windfall profits tax would have recovered only \$290 billion of that, and the Senate version now would bring in only \$138 billion.

Company overseas profits even now are probably overstated, most critics maintain. Much of the oil produced overseas comes to the U.S. in any case, and even if the profit is reported for a foreign arm of Exxon, for example, higher prices in the U.S. are the result. (The substantially higher prices paid in Europe reflect mainly much higher gasoline taxes, although most of their gasoline prices are not controlled.)

"There's always the company preference to realize income abroad rather than the U.S. if they can for both tax and political reasons," Lerner says. Overseas tax credits favor the oil companies, and foreign profits don't seem so unpatriotic. But critics also charge that the oil companies are selling their low-priced oil in uncontrolled, overseas markets to maximize profits there and bringing in the highest-priced oil to the U.S., where the extra costs can be passed through to the customer under the existing, limited regulations.

The international oil companies also sell oil to each other on the spot market, that traditionally small part of international oil trading not on long-term contract, Rutgers professor Paul Davidson, a former oil company economist, maintains.

Continued on page 10.



## LABOR

# Longshoremen support Chile import boycotters

The ILWU action surprised no one familiar with its long record of opposition to the Pinochet regime.

By Phillip Johnson

EUGENE, ORE.

**L**OADING LOGS ONTO SHIPS IS normal work for longshoremen at Coos Bay, Oregon, one of the world's leading timber export ports. But Oct. 15, for the first time in memory, longshoremen were asked to unload raw logs being imported for use in Oregon plywood mills. The 5.5 million board feet of Monterey pine filling the hold of the *Mannheim* and piled high on its deck had been shipped from Chile, bound for Georgia Pacific Corporation mills in the state.

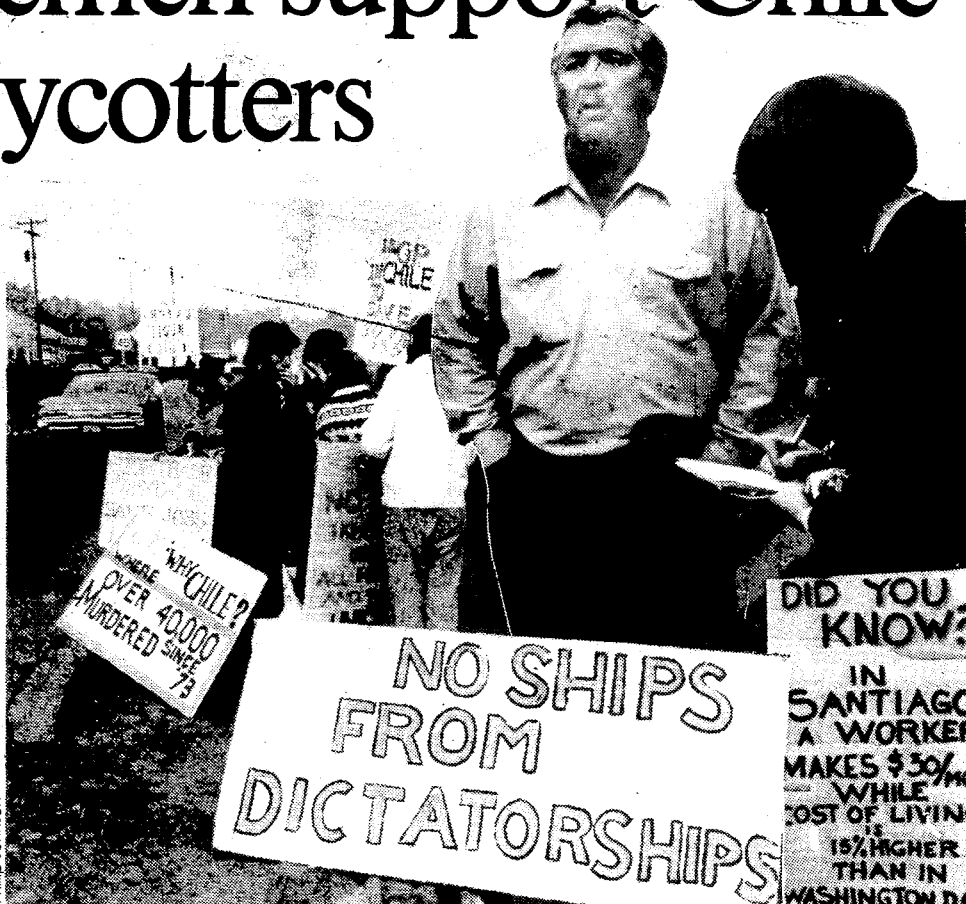
Parading in front of Coos Bay Central dock when the longshoremen arrived for work the morning of Oct. 16 were some 70 pickets from the local Coalition Against Trade with Chile. They were protesting the Pinochet regime's lengthy record of civil liberties abuses, and specifically the junta's suppression of the trade union movement in that country.

The longshoremen refused to cross the line, as they had done in a nearly identical incident at Newport, Ore., in August. So an arbitrator was called in. He ruled that the protest was not a legitimate union matter, but a "political demonstration," and therefore not a valid ground for refusing to work under the union contract.

No one had doubted that the longshoremen would be forced back to work, but organizers of the demonstration were grateful that the line had been respected, and that the union had done all it legally could to protest trade with Chile. For his part, said International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union Local 12 president Joe Jakovac, "If I had the ability, I'd stop all trade with Chile completely."

The day's events were all preordained. Jakovac played it with a twinkle in his eye. At 7:40 a.m., just before the workers arrived for the day shift, the picketers lined up in front of Central Dock, with the 43,000-ton *Mannheim* looming in the background. As the 50 or so longshoremen arrived, they stood about in casual knots instead of passing through the gate to the dock. Meanwhile, Jakovac explained to a circle of reporters and whirring cameras that the ILWU intended to honor the picket line.

The picketers carried leaflets, detailing the Pinochet regime's systematic efforts to dismantle Chile's active labor movement, including the execution, jailing or "disappearing" of labor activists, but scarcely needed to say anything—Jakovac handled the chore of denouncing the junta. "We've been in close contact with those people," he said of the Chilean labor organizations. "They're our friends." Asked why the ILWU didn't boycott ships from other totalitarian regimes, Jakovac shot back, "They haven't



Coos Bay, Ore. Longshoremen's local union president Joe Jakovac talking to a reporter, while demonstrators picket.

assassinated anybody lately within three blocks of the White House" (a reference to the Letelier-Moffitt murders, for which agents of Chile's secret police were recently convicted in a U.S. court).

Jakovac took his time answering the reporters' questions, then strolled along with members of his local's labor relations committee to the office of the Brady-Hamilton Stevedore Company. The union members informed the employer that they were observing the

picket line, the employer objected, a joint committee of union and employer representatives formally attempted to resolve the dispute without success, and an arbitrator was called in. Every step of this process is set forth in the union's contract with the Pacific Maritime Association.

Jakovac stalled further by insisting that representatives of two other ILWU locals covering clerks and "walking bosses" (foremen), both headquartered in Portland, be involved in discussions

with the arbitrator—the ensuing conference call took awhile to set up. The union argued as long as possible, but eventually the arbitrator ruled that the picket line couldn't be honored by the ILWU. At 11:20 a.m., the Coalition Against Trade with Chile was informed of this decision, and abandoned its picket line, so as not to embarrass the longshoremen. But by this time, the longshoremen scheduled for work that day had drifted off, and the union informed the employer that it wouldn't be able to assemble another crew until the evening shift.

The ILWU's actions came as no surprise; the union has been on record in opposition to the junta since it came to power in 1973, and this year's union convention voted unanimously to support an economic boycott of the regime.

Georgia-Pacific's response wasn't a surprise, either. The company issued a press release claiming that if the coalition keeps up its harassment, it will cause the loss of 300 jobs at the company's Toledo plant. (The coalition scoffs that the real problem is G-P's overcutting of its Northwest timberlands. G-P claims that since it owns the land from which the timber was harvested, it isn't really trading with Chile, but merely transferring the logs from one division of the company to another. In point of fact, G-P bought the land just in time to cut the mature timber, using Chilean laborers, and the logs were shipped on a Chilean line.)

The confrontation at Coos Bay is hardly the last of the issue. George Ritchie says that G-P expects to import about one shipload of Chilean timber every two months for its Oregon mills. And the Coalition Against Trade with Chile doesn't intend to back off. Says coalition member Sergio Palleroni: "In pursuing an issue like Chile, there aren't very many times you can catch people so directly."

## STRIKE

# Rag recyclers hit the bricks

Workers at low wage shop give near unanimous support to a brand new union.

By Rich Kazis

PHILADELPHIA

**D**UMONT EXPORT CORPORATION is a fairly typical low wage shop: all the 130 workers at the Southwest Philadelphia rag recycling plant are black, three-fourths are women and most work their 40 hour weeks for \$2.90 per hour and no benefits. There is rag dust in the air, rats and bugs throughout the plant and toilets that don't flush.

But Dumont is different in one critical respect: its workers have chosen to be represented by a union and they have recently gone on strike for recognition and for a contract.

On Sept. 7, workers voted by a nearly unanimous 86-2 count to be represented by United Labor Unions Local 862 (ULU), the first local of a new independent union that is organizing low wage workers in Philadelphia, Boston, Detroit and New Orleans. When management refused to negotiate on wages and working conditions and then fired Lena Parsons, one of the local's shop stewards and leaders, workers voted unanimously to strike.

The first two weeks of the strike were

tense and grueling. On the first day, only one production worker crossed the picket line of more than 70 striking workers. Jerry Usatch, Dumont's owner, quickly got an injunction against mass picketing, tried to bring in scab workers and began moving truckloads of material on weekends. One morning, he drove an eighteen-wheel tractor-trailer through the gates himself—hitting a parked station wagon. Another morning, he escorted an independent trucker through the plant gates, showing off a handgun to taunting pickets. But union members have stood firm and production at Dumont remains at a virtual standstill.

Now, just before the Philadelphia city elections, the strike has become a public issue. Twenty-one community leaders, including two mayoral candidates, signed an open letter that appeared in the *Philadelphia Tribune* asking Dumont's owner either to sign the contract or to sell the company to someone who would run it fairly. Workers have leafleted Usatch's neighbors in suburban Penn Valley, informing them of the strike. And they have made it clear that they will continue to take the strike to the owner's home turf if negotiations do not resume.

As of this writing, there are signs that public pressure is having an effect: Usatch and his lawyer met with union negotiators Oct. 25 for the first serious discussion since the strike began 11 days earlier. There is some guarded optimism among workers that the next negotiating session will address the central issues of wages, benefits and working conditions—and that it will be more than a shouting match between the two sides.

United Labor Unions is one of a growing number of new unions—like the

Rhode Island Workers Union, the Arizona Farm Workers Union and the Union of Domestic Workers—that are committed to organizing unorganized low wage workers. United Labor Unions is part of the Jobs & Justice campaign (JTT, July 11) begun 18 months ago by the Movement for Economic Justice as a effort to organize and provide a voice for unemployed, underemployed and low wage workers in the U.S.

Like some of these other unions, ULU is developing a new model for union organizing, one that relies heavily on direct action, both at the work site and in the community, and one that involves the larger community in support of workplace organizing. The union is also convinced that an understanding of the shape of the low wage sector in each city is essential to successful urban organizing. In New Orleans, hotel workers make up a large percentage of the low wage workforce, as the city is a tourist town. In heavily unionized Detroit, fast food chains are the largest minimum wage employers. In Philadelphia, there is Dumont and the countless low wage shops like it, throwbacks to a sweatshop era that many think is already past.

ULU hopes to win this strike and to negotiate a good contract at a metal fabrications plant where workers recently voted for representation—and to continue to build a new union for low wage and underemployed workers.

*Contributions to the strike fund for the workers at Dumont Export Corporation can be sent to: United Labor Unions Local 862 Strike Fund, 2015 Fairmount, Philadelphia, Pa. 19130.*

*Richard Kazis works at National Center for Jobs & Justice, Washington, D.C.*



## ELECTRICAL WORKERS

# Corrupt IBEW is ousted at Chicago's Stewart-Warner

By Steve Askin

**A** LONG FIGHT BY UNION DISSENTS at Stewart-Warner Corporation's five Chicago factories ended in a reform victory, as workers voted nearly two-to-one to dump the AFL-CIO International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) Local 1031 and form an independent union—the United Workers Association (UWA).

The election should have a significant effect on nationwide operations of the \$330 million per year manufacturer of auto and industrial equipment. The Chicago unit, with more than half the firm's production workforce, is the traditional pacesetter for Stewart-Warner contracts, according to the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department.

The vote Oct. 24 in a National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) election—1519 for UWA to 885 for IBEW with 74 for no union—climaxed a five year effort.

Previous opposition efforts won strong support among the 2900 Stewart-Warner workers but couldn't crack the power of Local 1031 officials, who control more than 15,000 members scattered through 50 shops in and around Chicago.

Incumbents blocked a challenge in 1977 local-wide elections by moving the polls to a remote site virtually inaccessible to many members. After that campaign, Stewart-Warner's elected shop stewards, including several leaders of the challenge, were removed and replaced with appointees. Last year, 1,200 workers signed cards asking the International union to charter a separate Stewart-Warner local. Officials promised a referendum, later reneged, and the campaign for a new union began.

UWA dubbed Local 1031 a "company" union, citing government surveys showing that its Stewart-Warner contract sets wages for many jobs more than \$1 an hour below Chicago area averages. UWA leaders promised election of all stewards and officers. They criticized the pay scales of Local 1031 officers—\$40,000 to \$70,000 per year each, and promised that no UWA official would receive more than the top in-plant union wage.

As longtime workplace activists, UWA leaders had a record to run on. Shortly before the election, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration ordered Stewart-Warner to

## United Workers dissidents elected by a wide margin despite company help for the other side and phony testimonials



"Get that camera outta here!" shouted this Stewart-Warner IBEW steward (above), identified by dissident unionists as Jerry Normant. Three of the winners in the union face-off were United Workers Association organizing committee members (left to right) Angelo Resendez, Genevieve Fields and Mark Weisbrot.

reduce noise levels. The order had been sought by UWA activists, without help from Local 1031 officials.

IBEW rarely discussed workplace issues, UWA members charged. Instead, its campaign combined redbaiting UWA activists with testimonials from civic groups and other unions.

IBEW chose targets foolishly. In a leaflet headed "Can Communists Take Over a Free Labor Movement?" Local 1031's prime target was a popular non-leftist opposition leader, a black former steward who has worked at Stewart-Warner since 1965.

Endorsements from officials of other unions, like the claim by United Auto Workers regional director Robert Johnston that "Local 1031 has always been guided by the desire to improve the welfare of its members," had little effect among workers who knew they are badly paid and poorly represented.

Local 1031 also highlighted endor-



workers that voting for no union is "throwing your vote away." On election day, an embarrassed IBEW steward had to correct company pollwatchers who told the NLRB they were observing "for Local 1031."

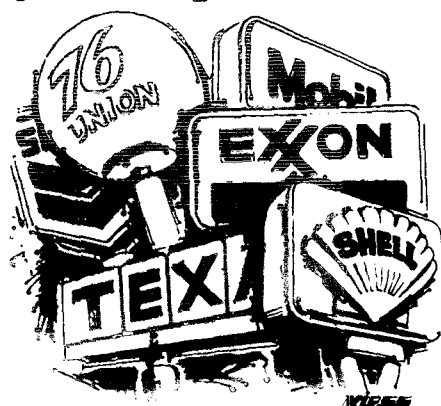
Redbaiting and collaboration with management, evident in the campaign, were present from the start of Local 1031's 30 year Stewart-Warner tenure, according to UWA activists. In a McCarthy-era article for the *Chicago Tribune*, a company vice-president boasted that the firm helped bring IBEW into the plant to eliminate the United Electrical Workers. UE had represented Stewart-Warner employees until 1949 when management charged "communist domination" and withdrew recognition.

The new union's most difficult task lies ahead: negotiating a new contract to replace one that expires Dec. 1. J. Carlin Allen of the AFL-CIO predicted that the new union will have trouble obtaining major gains. "Stewart-Warner is living in another century so far as benefits and wages are concerned," Allen said. Coordinator of an unsuccessful nine year effort to bring about company-wide bargaining by the four AFL-CIO unions that have represented Stewart-Warner units, Allen said the company has proved willing to endure long strikes to avoid even minor concessions.

UWA leaders express optimism. They point to the experience of workers at a Stewart-Warner plant in Spring Valley, Ill. who two years ago left Local 1031 to form an independent union. The Spring Valley workers first negotiated an improved contract, then affiliated, in a local of their own, with the United Auto Workers.

Steve Askin is labor writer for *The Chicago Reporter*.

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By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

**S**URPLUS WINE OR STEEL PRODUCTION may still cause wrangling, but Western European governments can readily agree on one surplus commodity: fugitive political trouble-makers. By extraditing Franco Piperno to Italy last week, France jumped the gun and applied a European Convention it hasn't yet ratified, sacrificing its liberal traditions of political asylum for the sake of a unified "European judicial space." Among partner nations like France, West Germany and Italy the old-fashioned liberal notion that in political conflicts states cannot pursue their citizens across the border is fading fast.

Physics professor Franco Piperno, 37, has been a prominent figure in Italy's turbulent far left since the student-worker upheavals of 1968-69 (*ITT*, Aug. 29 & Sept. 5). When some 15 intellectuals associated with the Autonomy movement were rounded up last April 7 and accused by Italian magistrates of masterminding the Red Brigades terrorist organization, Piperno's name was on the list. But he slipped out of the dragnet and busied himself giving interviews, writing letters to newspapers suggesting an amnesty to end Italy's civil strife and posing for photographs in comic disguises, until he was picked up by French police outside a Paris cafe terrace Aug. 18.

His arrest was irregular, as no international mandate had been issued. Italian judges hastily concocted one accusing him of subversive association, incitement to armed insurrection against the state and provoking civil war—the very epitome of vague, general political charges that have always been invalid for extradition. A French court threw out the first mandate Aug. 31. Italian magistrate Achille Gallucci had already corrected his aim and thrown the book at Piperno with a second mandate on Aug. 29. This accused Piperno of no less than 46 specific crimes, including nine murders, kidnapping, theft, throwing bombs to spread panic, counterfeiting license plates and violating traffic regulations.

On Oct. 17 French magistrate Jean Fau proved his fair-mindedness by throwing out 44 of the 46 charges. But the two he kept were shoppers: complicity in the Red Brigades kidnapping and murder last year of Italian Christian Democratic Party chairman and former Premier Aldo Moro.

#### Smuggled out.

Piperno was secretly flown to Italy in time for breakfast the next morning, before his lawyers could appeal the extradition order to the Conseil d'Etat. French official spokesmen justified this haste by a mysterious risk of "hostage-taking" so long as the dangerous suspect remained on French soil.

Socialist leader Francois Mitterrand was among those who protested against the "hypocrisy" of the French ruling. Defense lawyer George Kiejman wondered out loud whether France still had an independent judiciary, or simply func-

tionaries carrying out government policy. "The court is there to find the *technical* means to please the government," Kiejman said.

The defense argued that the second mandate was a rewrite of the first, only in criminal rather than political terms. But by exercising his verbal resourcefulness, the French judge obligingly managed to find an absolute difference between the charges in the two mandates...even though based on the same facts. Or to be precise, one fact.

That fact is that last May 29, a Red Brigade couple, Valerio Morucci and Adriana Faranda, were captured with their terrorist arsenal in the Rome apart-

ment of physicist Fuliana Conforto, who claimed she took them in as a favor to their mutual friend Piperno. The second mandate is simply an enumeration of all the crimes Morucci and Faranda, or the weapons found in their possession, may have committed for the Red Brigades.

Judge Fau conceded that this single piece of evidence was totally inadequate under French law to sustain a presumption of complicity in the Moro killing. But it took on sufficient weight when a couple of others were added to it.

The first was that the autonomy review *Metropoli*, with which Piperno was associated, had published a comic strip showing the "topography" of the Red Brigades "den" where Moro was held captive, thus "revealing a perfect knowledge" of the place before police found it.

But police still don't know where Moro was held, and as for the comic strip, which is very stingy with background, there are a few lines indicating the place had walls and a floor.

The other evidence of Piperno's alleged complicity with the Red Brigades, said Judge Fau, was that he had "initiated negotiations" to bargain for Moro's release while he was held by the Red Brigades. This sounds pretty bad, but anyone who has read the newspapers recently knows that this refers to consultations with Piperno sought by Italian Socialist Party leaders during the Moro kidnapping. Socialist Claudio Signorile has said repeatedly that he took the initiative in consulting Piperno as someone whose political experience might help him psych out the Red Brigades and get them to free Moro,

but that Piperno had no useful contacts with the Red Brigades.

#### Ignorance helps the judge.

But Judge Fau said proudly that he did not read the newspapers and had no knowledge of Italian politics, as if that were a proof of his fair judgement. Anyway, he concluded, the Moro kidnapping and murder were too "grave" to be considered "political" crimes.

The law cited by Judge Fau in his ruling was the 1927 French extradition statute barring extradition "when the crime has a political character or when extradition is requested for political purposes." Under that law, which is still in force, France has refused to extradite people not only accused but obviously guilty of crimes like murder, armed robbery or airplane hijacking on the basis of their declared political motives. On Nov. 15, 1976, a French court turned down a U.S. request to extradite four black American airplane hijackers on grounds that their aims and intentions were political.

Judge Fau said his ruling was based on the single exception provided by the 1927 law, allowing extradition in political cases only for acts of "odious barbarism" or "vandalism banned by the laws of war" committed in the course of civil war. But this was only for old time's sake. The judgement that the Moro crime is "not political" has nothing to do with the 1927 law, but is perfectly in line with the Jan. 27, 1977, European Convention on Terrorism, which lists kidnapping, abduction and the taking of hostages among crimes that automatically cannot be considered "political" or even "inspired by political motives" in extradition cases between contracting States. The Convention adds that States may refuse to regard "any grave act of violence" as political.

France has not yet ratified the Convention, which has run into stiff opposition from civil libertarians. But Judge Fau, a man ahead of his times, has begun enforcing it anyway.

This disregard for legal niceties—of which the Piperno case is only one example—alarms a lot of people in France who neither know or care very much about the intricacies of Italian politics. There are signs of an oppressive trend in France that seems particularly gratuitous considering the slump in left-wing militancy. Is the right simply taking advantage of the left's discouragement to tighten things up, or is it a sign that Western European rulers fear they cannot master the deepening economic crisis and are bracing to get tough with eventual popular explosions.

#### Blame the victims.

When trouble occurs, it is always blamed on "trouble-makers," who now can be pursued from one country to another. From now on, it may be enough for a Government to accuse a political fugitive of a "grave crime" to get him back from another European government.

From the defendant's point of view, it may seem especially "grave" to be unjustly accused of a "grave" crime. Piperno, under Italian law, can be kept in prison for up to four years without trial for such a "grave" crime as complicity in the Moro murder. This prospect moved him to seek political asylum in France.

#### Reactions in Italy.

By extraditing Piperno, France has given a much needed endorsement to the credibility of the April 7 case against the autonomy people. In Italy, the patience of many intellectuals who were willing to let the judges have a chance to prove their case has run out. Sept. 15, several well-known intellectuals, including novelists Alberto Moravia and Leonardo Sciascia, film-maker Bernardo Bertolucci, and Communists Massimo Cacciari, Mario Tronti and Umberto Eco, signed an open letter to the judges noting that five months had passed since Toni Negri and the other autonomy leaders were arrested. The time had come, they said, either to put them rapidly on trial, if there was evidence against them, or else to let them go.

## IN THE WORLD

### RED BRIGADE



The cartoon above was considered evidence of "perfect knowledge" of the location at which Aldo Moro was held by the Red Brigade.

## France jumps gun on extradition

### Franco Piperno is sent back to Italy as a criminal despite flimsy evidence and a tradition of political asylum.

What's behind the merger of the two Teamster reform groups—TDU and PROD?... How did the UAW win the representation election at the Oklahoma City GM plant?... What are the prospects for unionizing clerical workers?... How are the coal companies preparing for the next contract with the United Mine Workers?... What's the real story behind Chrysler's demand for government handouts and union concessions?... What does the new conservative economic consensus in Washington mean for working people?

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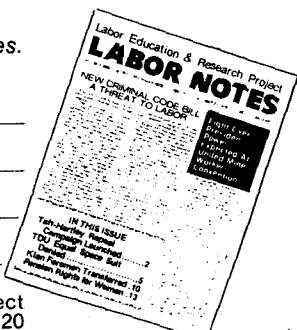
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## ISRAEL

# Begin government suffers two blows

By David Mandel

JERUSALEM

**P**RIME MINISTER MENACHEM Begin's government suffered a double blow last month when the resignation of Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan was followed by a landmark Supreme Court decision ordering, for the first time, a West Bank settlement to be dismantled.

Dayan, always a political loner, has been literally without a party since he bolted Labor immediately after the 1977 elections to serve in Begin's cabinet. The ultimate pragmatist, he played an indispensable role in cajoling the ideological hawks around him into enabling the peace process with Egypt to advance as far as it has—much farther than many believed Begin was capable of progressing.

But as was obvious all along, Sinai was much easier to tackle than the complex Palestinian question, involving terror and counter-terror, refugee claims, a stateless people whose very existence was seen by many as a threat to Israel's legitimacy, and most of all, the West Bank, a piece of land over which Begin and his government officially claim "historic rights."

For Dayan, the mystical-nationalist claim meant nearly nothing. He did not want to give up the West Bank and Gaza Strip, but the reasons were different. Dayan cherished Israel's identity as a major power in the region and the benefits that accompanied the neo-colonial relationship with the territories that he himself built up as defense minister from 1967 until 1976. As part of his vision of an Israel closely united with the U.S., Dayan feared that a PLO-led state might be a radical thorn for pro-American regimes in the region.

To frustrated journalists who kept asking Dayan what precisely made him quit when he did, the normally straight-talking sabra sounded horribly evasive. He insisted that he would still vote for the government in parliament, explained that he felt closer to Begin than to many of his former Labor comrades and could point to only a few minor specific policy differences of current relevance.

Dayan said he favored unilateral removal of direct control by Israel's military government in the West Bank and Gaza if talks broke down. He opposed the way in which the government was founding settlements, saying that unnecessary friction was being created—but did not oppose settlements as such; he called for more direct overtures to the local Palestinian leadership, pointing out that negotiations for Palestinian autonomy without Palestinian participation were doomed to failure.

## Why did he resign?

In explaining his resignation, Dayan stressed his overall disagreement with the government's guiding principles for the autonomy negotiations, adopted in the spring.

Those principles were saturated with clauses, on control of land and water, for instance, that left no room for doubt as to the government's intentions of stifling any hope that it would agree to authentic Palestinian self-rule. Dayan's vision is more neo-colonial. He took "autonomy" more seriously, as a possible method of actually winning Palestinian acquiescence, in some as yet undefined format, to Israeli military, political and economic domination.

Perhaps Dayan counted on Egypt and the U.S. to press Israel on the subject and make it realize that only his policy had a chance of success. He would then have agreed to take charge of the negotiations, which he had declined on the bases of existing Israeli guidelines.

But Anwar Sadat has continued to maintain public optimism about the



Ex-Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan resigned from the Israeli cabinet, but his reasons remain unclear.

## Israeli Supreme Court's ruling against a settlement on the West Bank was a much more serious blow than Moshe Dayan's resignation.

autonomy talks' progress, and without actually endorsing the Israeli view, has tended to ignore the differences. The Egyptian president even stated recently that Palestinian participation at this stage was not important. That put Sadat closer to Begin than to Dayan, who was left more and more out in the cold. Cocktail parties, as he bluntly stated, were not his idea of a foreign minister's most important tasks.

If Dayan has developed any more radical ideas, such as favoring contacts with the PLO, as a number of "slips of the tongue" led some observers to believe over the past several months, he is still keeping them to himself. Nor is he revealing any clues as the future political plans. If he wants to remain in parliament after the next elections, scheduled for 1981 but possibly sooner if the coalition falls apart, he will have to either join a party or form a new one. And unless Dayan's condition after cancer surgery a few months ago is more serious than he admits, no one is expecting him to drop out of politics.

Cynics interpreted Dayan's resignation—he had been clearly looking for an excuse in preceding weeks by threatening to quit if the cabinet decided to expropriate private land in the West Bank—as jumping off a sinking ship. Begin's ministers are torn by incessant bickering and petty rivalries, and the government's popularity has been steadily dropping to the point where it would lose if elections were held today.

Failure to take decisive steps to counter Israel's 100 percent inflation rate coupled with signs of a coming recession have made the government especially weak on economic issues, where Dayan had no say. These were the same issues that brought Begin to power in 1977. His parliamentary majority has eroded from 77 to 65 (out of 120) since then, and confrontations loom over abortion and other issues on which Begin's religious

partners differ with some of his more liberal ones.

Yet in the short term, Dayan's exit will mean greater stability. Begin now has another prize slot to award one of the coalition partners clamoring for a cabinet reshuffle. But it is a sad comment on the state of the Israeli government that the next foreign minister will be appointed as a result of juggling party rivalries rather than on the basis of suitability for the job.

## The Supreme Court.

If Dayan's resignation took a little pressure off Begin, the next day's Supreme Court ruling against the settlement of Eilon Moreh put it back on. At least one cabinet member, Agriculture Minister Ariel Sharon, was reported threatening to resign if the hill-top village less than two miles from Nablus is dismantled, and its ultra-nationalist Gush Emunim residents and their backers were saying they would refuse to move.

The five Supreme Court justices unanimously rejected government claims that Eilon Moreh, established last June, was necessary for Israel's security. The court had earlier issued an interim order halting development at the site in response to an appeal by Arab villagers, whose land was being requisitioned.

In several similar cases during recent months, the Supreme Court had ruled against appeals by West Bank Arab villagers whose land was being taken for other settlements. But this time, the government was tripped up by its attempt to justify the land seizure with statutes of international law.

The relevant conventions recognize only legitimate defense requirements for such acts in occupied territory. Not only did several retired Israeli generals testify against the chief-of-staff's affidavit concerning Eilon Moreh's security importance, but the judges were also con-

vinced that the initiative for the settlement was political, not military.

Begin's government publicly regards the security rationale for settlements as secondary to the nationalist one. Eilon Moreh, whose settlers had struggled against the Labor government from 1974 for the right to settle in the midst of Arab-populated Samaria, had become a sort of symbol of the rightist outlook. Immediately following his election in 1977, Begin celebrated with a visit to the group, then "temporarily" residing in an army camp in the area. He promised them that there would be "many Eilon Morehs."

## All or none.

Pro-settlement forces are now suggesting that parliament pass a new law to sanction unlimited settlement and prevent such unpleasant court decisions in the future. But other jurists point out that first, a more basic decision would have to be made. No Israeli law could apply to the West Bank unless *all* Israeli laws were applied to the region.

This would mean annexation, not only of the land, but also of its million Palestinian Arab residents. No Israeli government has dared try such a move so far in more than 12 years of occupation. With international attention focused more than ever before on the Palestinian question, it seems unlikely now.

The government will probably try to placate the settlers by letting them live at some nearby site where no clearly private land need be taken. It will hope that the court decision is interpreted as narrowly as possible to prevent its being applied to any other existing or future settlements. The court did not rule on what Israel calls "state land"—actually the majority of the West Bank. This is land that was nominally registered in the name of the Jordanian (before that British and Turkish) government. Functionally, most of it belonged to Palestinian farmers.

But the court decisions will escalate the struggle between growing segments of Israeli society that hold strong opinions on either side of the issue. Many of Gush Emunim's top leaders have now combined with right-wing dissidents from Begin's party, including two members of parliament, to form the

*Continued on page 10.*



# Israel

Continued from page 9.

new *Tehiya* (renaissance) party. The possible forced evacuation of Eilon Moreh provides a perfect focus for them.

On the other side, Peace Now is fresh for battle following a mass mobilization Oct. 20 for its biggest demonstration in over a year. Tens of thousands marched against the settlers' recent aggressive actions in the West Bank and the government's surrender to them in many instances.

Militant action can be expected from the movement's backers if Eilon Moreh is not removed. For them, too, it is a perfect issue—a settlement whose "security value" is clearly non-existent. Peace Now is divided on other set-

tlements, established before 1977 by the Labor government, where some of the security rationale as plausible.

But with a slightly broader interpretation, the Supreme Court's decision could be applied to all the settlements. The experience of 1973 in the Golan Heights showed that under conditions of modern warfare, civilian settlements are more of a burden than an asset. Precious time and resources had to be employed to evacuate them before serious Israeli resistance to the Syrian offensive could begin.

The motive behind all the settlement is political, meant to establish a territorial claim, which then must be defended by a military presence.

This does not mean that Jews who feel a special historic attachment to certain places in the West Bank could not conceivably live there under Palestinian autonomy, as Moshe Dayan points out. They could just as well stay under a Palestinian state too, especially if it were at peace with Israel

and the borders were open.

Even after 12 years of occupation, Jews are still less than one percent of the West Bank population. But this one percent already uses half the West Bank's water according to statistics published by an American church group active in the country. And Israel has already

requisitioned, in one way or another, about 30 percent of the territory's land.

Control over these resources, ultimately synonymous with the true political control demanded by the Palestinians, is the real issue, yet to be faced in full by either Moshe Dayan or Israel's Supreme Court.

## Oil prices

Continued from page 5.

Profits not only are manipulated to appear overseas for tax and political benefits, but are also understated, critics say. Ed Rothschild of Energy Action argues, "What they're reporting, even though it's large, is only everything they haven't been able to hide." He cites a Texaco statement that a change in their accounting method allowed them to reduce reported income for the first nine months of the year by \$401 million.

The profit figures announced are af-

ter-tax profits, Robert McIntyre, director of Public Citizen's Tax Reform Research Group, says, but "they report taxes that they don't pay." (In 1977 the eight biggest international oil companies paid taxes at the effective rate of 2.2 percent, and the eight largest domestic companies—lacking the "royalty" write-offs of the internationals—paid 6.5 percent in taxes. These, by the way, are not the figures used in Mobil's ads, but they were compiled by the Joint Committee on Taxation).

Critics maintain that the oil companies mislead the public as well about where the money goes. Big oil ads recently have stated that they are spending more than they earn in the search for oil. Never mind that some of that "search" involves buying up-existing reserves at inflated prices. Even with what is spent, McIntyre says, it is like an auto company spending \$400 million a year on wages and making \$200 million in profits, then saying they spent twice as much making cars as they did in profits. The companies also can write off virtually all of their drilling expenses in one year.

"If I make \$2, invest \$1 in drilling and then write that off in one year I only make \$1," Brandon explains. But the \$1 in drilling is an investment that keeps paying off. "The oil companies believe that they should be able to finance their entire investment out of current profits," Brandon says. Every other industry finances investment out of future earnings. So the oil companies are charging people presently for future earnings. And their level of investment is no higher than any other industry."

But what can be done? The Carter programs offer little. Even the strong windfall profits tax is weak and much of the money would help the industry with synthetic fuels, which are becoming the standard for a "just price" for oil, Lerner argues. Unfortunately the price for most synthetics remains just beyond reach, always a little more than oil. There is a remote chance that some measures to introduce more competition in the oil industry may get a hearing, but the fight to re-establish controls seems dead. Soon Congress will consider Carter's plan to impose import limits. If ever invoked, that would simply drive prices even higher. Meanwhile, the American public cowers, waiting for the next round of OPEC increases, followed by the next round of record oil company profits, followed by the next round of Mobil ads explaining how it's all for our own good.

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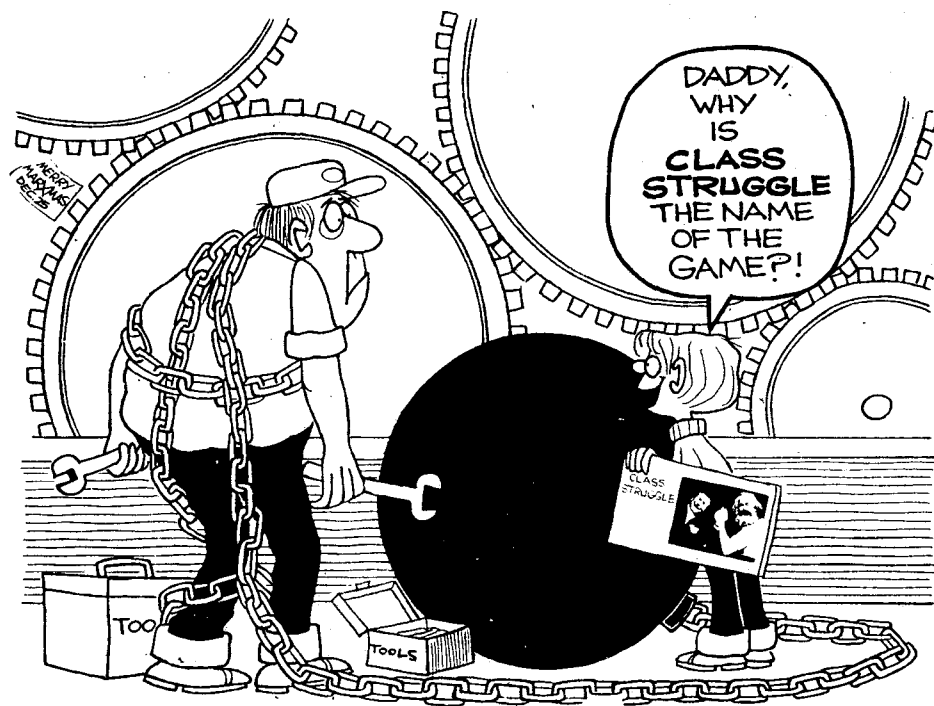
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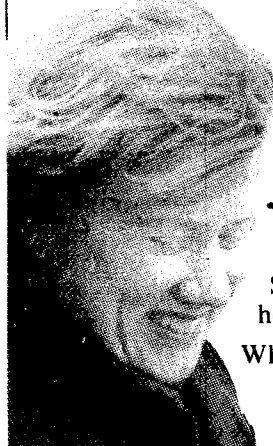
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## HAITIANS

# These political refugees are from the wrong place

By Patrick Laceyfield

NEW YORK

**M**ONICA'S DAY BEGINS early. At 6 a.m. the 28-year-old Haitian immigrant leaves her room in a crumbling single-room-occupancy hotel on Manhattan's West Side to work eight hours in a garment district sweatshop. She takes home a little less than \$30 a week, but every Friday manages to put away a few dollars, hoping to save enough to bring her six-year-old daughter to New York.

"I don't know how I will survive this winter," she says, in broken English with a thick Creole accent. "My heat is always off and on, mostly off."

Monica is in the United States but not of it. She is one of the several hundred thousand Haitians who fled their homeland for these shores, with 250,000 living in the New York area. Fully half, like Monica, are undocumented workers, here illegally.

For these refugees from a brutal tyranny in Haiti the words of Emma Lazarus engraved on the Statue of Liberty—"Send me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to be free"—ring with hypocrisy. They are refugees of political and economic difference at home and refugees of political, economic and social indifference here.

At the root of many of the Haitian immigrants' ills is the U.S. policy concerning immigration from Haiti. The State Department insists that Haitians are "economic refugees" and are ineligible for asylum or legal status. Indeed, under U.S. immigration laws, only those fleeing communist or socialist lands are recognized as "political refugees," a policy reflected in the difficulties encountered by Chilean Popular Unity supporters after the fall of Allende in 1973 when they attempted to apply for asylum in the U.S. The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) began last year to deport hundreds of Haitians, many of whom had washed up on the shores of Florida or the American base at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, after a 700-mile voyage across a tempestuous Caribbean. Many of these Haitian "boat people," of course, never completed the voyage and were lost at sea. Many of those deported were subjected to official persecution upon their return to Haiti.

Ask Haitian activists in the U.S. about the purported difference between "economic" and "political" refugees and the most common refrain is disgust at the duplicity of the State Department. "Let me laugh," says Father Antoine Andrien, a member of the Haitian Fathers, a catholic order expelled from Haiti 10 years ago that set up shop in the Bedford-Stuyvesant neighborhood of Brooklyn to minister to the needs of Haitians.

"Do you think that half a million Cuban refugees were all 'political'?" Nobody's asking that question of Cubans or Vietnamese or Hungarians because they come from left-wing dictatorships."

"The government of the United States is the father of the government of Haiti and you can't even put a hand between father and son," explains Jean Dupuy, director of the Haitian Neighborhood Center, three rooms in a crowded and shabby second floor walkup on Manhattan's upper West Side. He points to a lawsuit recently filed by the National Council of Churches' Haitian Refugee

Project, the Haitian Fathers, and the Haitian Refugee Project in Miami which charges the INS with conspiring to insure "the swift removal of the Haitians." The action, brought on behalf of 7,000 Haitian boat people, claims that the INS allows only 10 days for Haitian refugees to file asylum requests and has processed as many as 150 claims per day instead of its usual 10. There are an inadequate number of English/Creole interpreters and the INS regularly rejects asylum requests with form letters after only the briefest of deliberations. "They [the INS] have been blocked by the courts from further deportations," says Adrien, "but for how long? Even when it is a clear political case, according to their own terms; the State Department delays in granting asylum. I actually saw a letter from the State Department to a Haitian New Yorker who defected from the Haitian army. The letter assured him he could return with out fear. Are they kidding?"

The current wave of Haitian immigration into the U.S. is far from the first. Black Haitians fought with courage and valor in several major operations against the British in the Carolinas during the American Revolution. And in 1790, after the fall of Port-au-Prince to the armies of independence leader Toussaint L'Ouverture, more than 130 ships carrying 5,000 French and their servants glided into Baltimore Harbor to a warm and sym-

## The current wave of Haitian immigration into the U.S. is not the first one. But refugees from the Duvaliers have flooded since 1957.

pathetic welcome from the American people. Within two days the citizens of Baltimore raised \$11,000 in relief and Congress authorized President Washington to disburse \$15,000 to meet the needs of these white teachers, lawyers, merchants and bankers. Americans, New Jersey Representative Elias Boudinot, opined at the time, were "bound by every moral obligation to relieve people at present our allies." The statement "our allies" made clear U.S. animosity and its fear of a free black republic in the Caribbean while slavery still occupied a prominent place in American life.

In 1957 Francois Duvalier—better known by friends and foes alike as "Papa Doc"—took control of the Haitian government and proclaimed himself President-for-Life. He unleashed his dreaded Tontons Macoute, a private police force known for its brutality, against political opponents and ruled Haiti with an iron hand. And he enjoyed the patronage and support of the American government in the form of military and economic aid, much of which was frittered away by a corrupt government infrastructure.

Suddenly, a new flood of Haitian refugees reached our shores. But these exiles were black, and no grand welcomes by citizens' committees or Congressional appropriations awaited them. Frank LaRaue, a professor in the Black Studies Department at City College in New York, remembers. Twenty-two years ago he was forced into exile when he and other junior army of-



Papa Doc Duvalier (lower) Haiti's first "President for life" and his son Baby Doc, who succeeded him in 1971.

ficers sought—unsuccessfully—to thwart Duvalier's rise to power and uphold the Haitian constitution.

"The lie in the artificial distinction between 'economic' and 'political' is the immigration quotas," LaRaue asserts. "Before 1957 there was poverty but we [Haitians] didn't even fill our immigration quotas. After Duvalier and the start of political oppression it was different.

"There were three opposition can-

turn out parochial students at St. Marcel's College to pro-Duvalier demonstrations. "I told him 'You ask me not to be involved in politics. I ask you not to involve me,' " he remembers. "A little later my entire order was expelled for being a 'rightist group with leftist tendencies.' "

To most Haitian emigres, however, politics is a subject to be spoken of with caution. Reprisals against family members for criticism of the Duvalier regime here is common practice. Many Haitians also hope to return to their homeland someday and thus keep silent about political matters.

After "Papa Doc" Duvalier's death in 1971, the affairs of state fell to his 19-year-old, semi-literate son Jean-Claude. Jean-Claude, well-known for his penchant for conspicuous consumption, women, and widespread corruption, was inaugurated under the protection of U.S. gunboats, which cruised the coastal waters to fend off any efforts by exiles to thwart the junior Duvalier's ascension to power.

"My father made the political revolution," Jean-Claude is fond of saying, "and I will make the economic one."

Unfortunately the disparities between the rich and the poor have widened since 1971, private investment remains subject to expropriation at the whim of a corrupt officialdom and nearly half Haiti's budget is outside public accountability.

Haiti has come under increasing pressure from the United States, the World Bank and other lenders to place its financial affairs in some semblance of order—or else. Such an ultimatum would never have been presented to "Papa Doc."

Even if such problems as the land tenure system, the 80 percent illiteracy rate and the widening economic and social chasm between the capital and the countryside were too fundamental to expect the younger Duvalier to move against, the American government did harbor hopes for improvement in the "human rights" situation. And Jean-Claude Duvalier did announce a "liberalization." He allowed some Haitian exiles to return and placed some distance between himself and the Tontons Macoute. The controlled press cautiously began to criticize government officials, though not Duvalier or the system and three new political parties sprang up to contest for power.

Continued on page 13.



# LETTERS

**IN THESE TIMES** is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the authors and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

## KUCINICH AND RACISM

FROM A DISTANCE, CLEVELAND'S Mayor Kucinich looks good. Who can fault a man who is against big corporations and give-away tax abatements, who is for saving the Municipal Light Plant from the greedy hands of monopoly utilities and who is the champion of the little people? Yet one must ask, can you support a politician who uses racist tactics to win elections?

It is common knowledge in Cleveland, and has been reported often enough, that pro-Kucinich councilmanic candidates have played the racial issue to the hilt in predominantly white wards; and that high-ranking and close associates of the mayor have been helping them. Kucinich himself has publicly embraced C.O.R.K. (Citizens Opposed to Rearranging Kids)—the best known anti-busing group.

There were four major party candidates in the recent mayoral primary, plus the Socialist Workers Party. In a racially divided city, no other candidate used racist tactics. It is no accident that Kucinich ran fourth in black wards.

I would not claim that Kucinich is a dedicated racist. But any person stooping to racist tactics, as he is doing now and as he has done in the past, is not worthy of support.

This leaves Cleveland voters with no choice in this election, as his opponent is a traditional big business-backed Republican.

—Max Schoenfeld  
Cleveland heights, Ohio

## THE DISADVANTAGE OF ADVANTAGE

THE IVORY TOWER "ROUND-UP" (ITT, Oct. 3) was useful, among other things, for Harold Cruse's last paragraph, which questions the viability and validity of Black Studies as a separate discipline and at the same time notes its affirmative impact on history and social studies.

"Women's Studies" have not matured enough for that perception to surface in Peg Strobel's piece, but we can be patient, knowing that we shall overcome. "We" embraces the white males, from Thomas Wentworth Higginson, in the XIXth Century, to the present day, who have fought for women and blacks, and written to advocate justice in books and media for blacks and women—and who have been disqualified because they were not born with disadvantage of gender or skincolor.

—Howard N. Meyer  
Rockville Center, NY

## FRANCE AND U.S.

IN DIANA JOHNSTONE'S ARTICLE ABOUT the "new right" in France (ITT, Oct. 10) she writes: "Gaullism was based on strengthening national industry and the domestic market to counter German power." It was American power, the US financial and industrial effort to take over French business, that

DeGaulle was combatting. Note his role as war leader, and the opinion of him as stubborn and contentious held by Roosevelt and Churchill.

When DeGaulle expelled NATO from France it was not Germany he was resisting. When he worked for rapprochement with the Soviet Union, it was to find a counterweight to American power. After 1945, Germany was no threat for 15 years (to France).

DeGaulle made common cause with Chancellor Adenauer in the late '50s and early '60s, again to strengthen France's against the U.S., when German recovery was bringing into being "national" German interests that also wanted to escape U.S. domination. French-German collaboration still goes on as a means of strengthening "Europe" as against the U.S. In that framework there is a struggle between France and Germany for economic supremacy as between themselves.

—James H. Durkin  
Forest Hills, NY

## TIME MARCHES ON

AS BEFITS AN ACADEMIC OVER 40, who has undergone traumas in recent years, who was part of the apocalyptic '60s and shuffled through the uncertain '70s, Louis Menashe has moved away from the basics to extolling the somewhat tainted world of Dylanopologia. (ITT, Oct. 10).

Does he really think that Dylan's born-again California Christianity—symbolized by Dylan's baptism in Pat Boone's swimming pool (somehow not mentioned in Menashe's accolade to Dylan—what is he trying to coverup?) is genuine? Mesmerized by Dylan's latest Amazing Chutzpah—to use Greil Marcus's devastating title of his perceptive critique of Dylan's ode to Him and Himself, Menashe proves only that he is desperately in need of a Weatherman.

Bring back Bruce Dancis—NO MORE EUROCOMMUNIST HISTORIANS MASQUERADING AS ROCK CRITICS!

—Abe Garbanzo and Friend  
Brooklyn, NY

Someone responds: How come you like Dylan's new religion less than the old, Beanie? Anyway, it's the music that counts, and a little religious fervor has always come in handy for Bobby.

## BLACKS AND JEWS

AS A JEW AND A LEFTIST I VERY MUCH appreciated Mark Naison's article on Black-Jewish relations. I agree that Jews, like other ethnic groups, ultimately cannot depend on even the best intentions of other groups to see to their welfare. However, he overlooked a few points.

Naison mentioned that "...numerous black leaders have stated, in interviews and letters to the editors, that American Jews constitute by virtue of their political and financial power and their intellectual influence, a major obstacle to black progress in the U.S." Yet he did not analyze these statements.

Naison said these statements are anti-Semitic. Why? Because they are half-

truths and based on stereotypes. The truth is that Jews as a group have relatively little power in determining American policies. Many Jews are middle class, or wealthy, but 800,000 Jews live at or below the poverty line, and most work for a living. For the most part do not have any authority over the real policy-makers in this country—i.e. big business and government.

But many Jews have been representatives of an oppressive system—as social workers, teachers, store owners, and landlords. But non-Jewish whites have stood in oppressive relations to blacks much more often than Jews, who comprise only two percent of the American population. So why are Jews singled out as the "major obstacle" to black progress?

Three reasons: 1) certain black leaders are turning away from the Jewish community because their organizations need money and Arab sources are more plentiful; 2) it is to the advantage of the powers that be to encourage blacks to waste their anger on Jews, so that they will not threaten the sources of their oppression; 3) Jews have recently been less supportive of black causes.

Anti-Semitism throughout the ages has been a useful tool for deflecting the rage of the masses away from the power elite. In the past, whenever discontent began to emerge among the poor, the powers that be could point their fingers at Jews and absolve themselves.

Many Jews have not supported black causes because they are racists. In this country all whites are taught to be racists. Likewise, non-Jews—including blacks—are conditioned to be anti-Semitic.

Ultimately, if we allow ourselves to be divided we will certainly fall. It is disappointing to see some in the left aiding in the exacerbation of a black rift. Perhaps Naison is—we can't depend on "socialist principles" to overcome ethnic divisions. But I choose to continue to try.

—Chalah Swift  
Berkeley, Cal.

## COMMUNITY RADIO

THANK YOU FOR YOUR RECENT ARTICLE on non-commercial radio. (ITT, Sept. 12). I felt you presented a fair and in-depth picture of community radio's struggle for acceptance as we try to provide the American public with an alternative to the profit-motivated programming that blankets most of our radio airwaves.

Although, as Tom Thomas said, community radio has "reached a point of critical mass," and the National Federation of Community Broadcasters is having a major impact on congressional rule-making and appropriations, day to day existence is still a major struggle at many of our community stations.

The movement is relatively young, and the growing pains are harsh. But more and more people are realizing the potential for this new, exciting, socially meaningful media outlet. As long as we can sustain ourselves as we work with our communities to explore their potential, the impact of community controlled mass media could be profound.

—David J. Albrecht  
President WYEP (FM)  
Pittsburgh, Pa.

## OFF BASE GAY SOCIALISTS

THE GAY SOCIALISTS OF CHICAGO'S idea that a threat to the family is a threat to capitalism—and that the emergence of a gay movement is welcome because it weakens the family (ITT, Oct. 24) is both wrongheaded and politically dumb. It's also ass backward.

In fact, higher education for tens of millions of women, and their entry, along with millions of other women, into the work force, as well as steadily higher rates of inflation, have created a situation where gays could come out in the open. As the extended family has become more fragmented, and as the advantages, and the necessity, of having children have declined, homosexuality has become less and less a threat to the established order. Choice, after all, is the catchword of our advanced corporate society, and that applies increasingly to sexual orientation as well as to automobiles and deodorants.

This is all to the good, but a celebration of the death of the family is idiotic. The vast majority of Americans still find solace in the family, and are threatened by its continuous disintegration. It's time for socialists to understand this sympathetically, whether or not they are gay. That socialists can defend the family without being anti-gay, that they can point to the real causes of family disintegration, was indicated by the great success of Family Day in Oakland (Calif.), Sept. 29. It should not be necessary to attack the family, and, by implication, the tens of millions of working people for whom the family is a source of comfort and strength, in order to uphold gay rights. For socialists this is particularly off base.

—Lee Preston  
San Francisco

## NORTHERN IRELAND

THE PARTISAN TONE ADOPTED BY Dennis O'Hearn on Northern Ireland (ITT, Sept. 26) prohibits the clarification of major, vastly complicated issues. He works from the assumption that the justice of the cause of the Provisional I.R.A. is self-evident, and that opponents of the I.R.A. are all oppressors.

His language reinforces this simplistic contention. He tells us that Lord Mountbatten was "executed" but that three Catholics, unaligned with the U.R.A., had been "murdered." This implies that the first act was the result of a legal decision, while the others were arbitrary. In fact, the mechanics of these four dismal deaths were really very similar.

After reading some of his expostulations against the British press and government I reached the section in which O'Hearn describes the dwindling public presence of the British troops in Belfast. "This can only mean that the army is staying out of the way of loyalist paramilitary gangs, letting them do the job of terrorizing the Catholic population" he says. In truth there are several possible explanations for this dwindling presence, and he has alighted upon one of the least convincing. He has advanced no evidence in support of his thesis that the role of the army is to terrorize the Catholic population, and he has wrongly suggested that the army is allied with the paramilitary loyalist forces. In reality the army and these loyalist groups have themselves engaged in several battles.

As a British citizen resident in America, I have long been distressed to see the inaccuracy with which the Ulster situation is described by the American press. It is particularly depressing to see that *In These Times*, one of the more coherent journals in the U.S.A., is following the crowd, and that it avoids an opportunity to describe the more complex, and more deplorable condition of Ulster.

Patrick Allitt  
Berkeley, Calif.

**Editor's Note:** Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.



ROBERTA LYNCH

# Our cities' future rests on reallocating power

THERE'S A WAY IN WHICH living in a massive city can swallow you up. You live necessarily within its psychic confines as much as you live within its geographic confines. And sometimes you hardly notice the difference. Last winter Chicagoans lived with-



in a blizzard. It wasn't just a matter of the incessantly falling snow. It was enclosure: even when the air had cleared, it was a universe of greatly restricted possibilities. You did what you could, you lamented what you missed, and you forgot much of what you'd had.

Inside this social dome one of the city's most long-standing traditions began to show signs of wear. Chicago is a city built on division: its black ghetto is one of the largest in the world; its ethnic neighborhoods are fierce in their territorialities; its Spanish-speaking population is frozen out of major institutions. Historically, its leaders have constructed their rule on the maintenance of this disunity.

But locked within the weather as we were, there emerged a tentative sense of community—a "we're all in this together" mentality. (Although, as is so often the case, the black community was "in it" a little more: black streets were the last to be plowed, black neighborhoods the first to have public transportation cut back.)

Initially, it was just a matter of "us" against the elements. But as the weeks wore on, and the city's leaders seemed to align themselves more and more with the snow, the mood began to take on potent

political connotations.

And, in fact, it was on this tenuous sense of solidarity that Jane Byrne's mayoral campaign rode to victory. Byrne combined a forceful attack on official incompetency with a deliberate approach to the black community. As a result, for the first time in recent memory, a candidate was elected with whom both blacks and whites felt a certain sense of identification. And with spring came a new aura of possibility.

It didn't last. In summer there is no snow to conceal the city's pervasive deformities. This is the city we want to forget—the one that Life photographers are bored with snapping and government bureaucrats are tired of feeding.

If we live in its heart, the noises of this city can pierce even our dreams. And if we live on its fringes, it can seem a gaping mouth threatening to consume our carefully constructed peace.

It is the city—like so many others—for which race remains a tragic, if unacknowledged, determinant of character.

Racism is a suspect concept these days, chided for its divisiveness or writ-

ten off as archaic in the face of class or economic factors. But it takes only half-opened eyes and a nodding acquaintance with statistics to realize that banishing the term cannot banish the reality.

It is only made all the more complicated by the fact that racism has eaten its way into the heart of our social and economic institutions—so that it has come to seem nearly a natural element. I sometimes think that this is the most disturbing aspect of racial politics today: not its blatant manifestations, but the way that racism's fruits—the inferior schools, the sprawling slums, and the rest—have come to be largely accepted facts of urban life.

For it has become increasingly clear that this reality can only be dislodged at the risk of upturning a score of other elements. And in Chicago, as the summer wore on, it became increasingly clear that Jane Byrne was not willing to take such risks. It is not a matter of expecting miracles in a few short months, but of expecting leadership.

This year's annual August busing battles provided the most dramatic indication of her failure on this score.

Each year the busing issue becomes not simpler, more straightforward, but more complex, more labyrinthine. Today there are black and Spanish-speaking, as well as white, groups that oppose busing. Moreover, we are talking about integrating a school system that is now less than one-quarter white.

In such a context, any unconditional advocacy of busing as a solution to our current educational morass would be remarkable short-sighted.

On the other hand, busing cannot simply be written off as an antiquated liberal bromide. Partly because it has become a symbol of the aspirations of minorities for educational equality, partly because it is currently the only avenue to such equality that carries with it the legal weight of the courts and the financial weight of the state.

This is Jane Byrne's failure of leader-

ship. Not that she opposes busing. But that she does so almost solely within the narrow limits of "preservation of the neighborhood school"—code words to all ears for the maintenance of the status quo—without linking it to serious proposals to alter the basic inequities of our present schooling patterns.

Any long-term alternative strategy to busing must offer such proposals—not just as an abstract issue of social justice but as a concrete issue of the survival of our schools. Questions must be raised about an "affirmative action" program for our schools, i.e. a substantial re-apportionment of funding to minority schools; about bi-lingual education; about how the disastrous divide between city and suburbs can be overcome; about our largely regressive system of taxation; about the racial segregation that persists in housing patterns.

For the most part these questions remain not only unanswered but unasked in the public debate.

Now it is fall. And I suspect that last winter's strange alchemy will not be repeated this year no matter how much snow lands. In Chicago, as in so many other cities, there is a growing sense that the necessary leadership is not likely to emerge without new forms of political activity.

There is an urgent need for urban alliances that have the boldness and the vision to pose alternative solutions to the problems of our cities in a way that redistributes power and resources to meet the needs of the majority, not the businesses or the elite.

Such alliances must also have the courage to confront our racial dilemmas forthrightly. For the future of our cities depends on our ability consistently and consciously to seek ways to overcome the bitter legacy of racial discrimination that continues to blight our social landscape.

Roberta Lynch is a member of the New American Movement, a democratic socialist organization.

# Haitians

Continued from page 11.

On Aug. 31, however, two days after the New York Times hailed the "freer climate," the heads of the two Christian Democratic parties were arrested, charged with subversion, and have disappeared from sight. Earlier, on July 29, Duvalier reimposed total press censorship and asked the Tontons Macoute to demonstrated their support for him. "They proceeded to go on a spree of 'loyalty,'" explains LaRaue, "seizing property, harassing and killing opponents and much more. The Western powers do not like this. They would prefer that he say something and do something different."

In May, the State Department sent a study team to Haiti to investigate charges of ill treatment by the government of returnees. Though the team spoke to only 85 or 600 recently deported Haitians, it concluded that incidents of abuse were few and far between. But Haitian exiles differ with these findings. "It is very difficult to find addresses in Haiti, particularly in the countryside," asserts LaRaue, "and the Duvaliers have misled inspection teams by resorting to substitution or intimidation." Jean Dupuy of the Haitian Neighborhood Center, an exile who holed up in the Colombia Embassy in Port-au-Prince for five years before he was allowed to leave, agrees. "What of the 514 the team did not speak to?" he asks. "How can one expect a person to speak freely with the prospect of retribution hanging heavily over his head?"

Though the Carter Administration has considered proposals to grant amnesty to all undocumented workers, Haitian activists rate Carter as inferior even to Presi-

dents Nixon and Ford in his sensitivity toward the Haitian emigres and the cause of human rights in their homeland.

"Now they want us to help count Haitians in the census and promise there'll be no reprisals if people come forward," remarks Adrien. "Yet we remember that in Florida they granted temporary work permits to Haitians only to cancel them two weeks later and use the data to hunt people down." Jean Dupuy waves his hand at eight battered file cabinets in his office. "We have more information here than immigration," he said. "If there ever is an amnesty, we'll be a primary source."

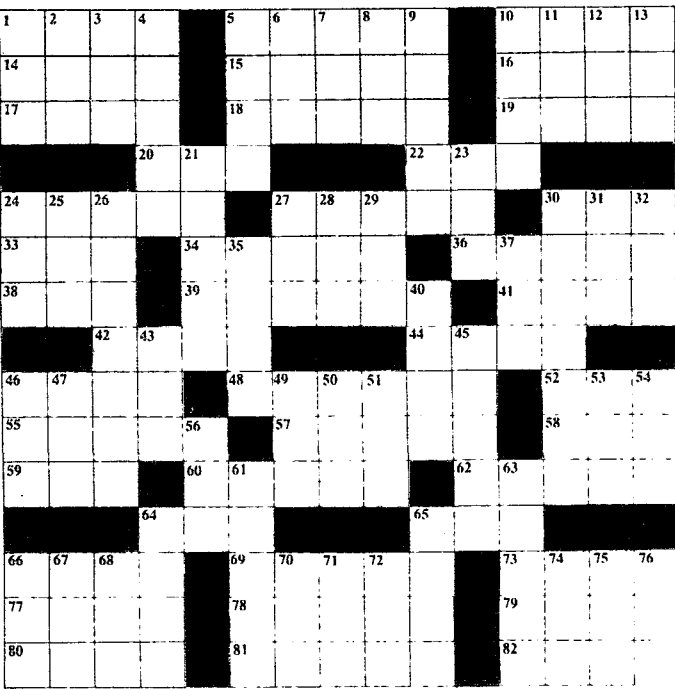
Haitian-Americans truly stand astride their homeland and the U.S. They desperately want the relative political freedom and economic opportunity that this country offers, but yearn viscerally for their native land. Most would return if they could. "I would return tomorrow," exclaims Adrien. Another Haitian, an actor-director in New York is less certain. "A friend of mine who lived in the States returned for a visit last year and the peasants called him 'white man'. 'You don't walk like a Haitian,' they told him."

"I could return now, if I wanted to," says LaRaue, "but to do so I'd have to tell the consulate that I'd changed, that I supported Duvalier." When LaRaue's mother died several years ago, he was unable to attend her funeral. "When I return it will be on my feet to a free Haiti, not on my knees accepting Duvalier," he proclaims. "Are we so different from the Vietnamese in deserving deliverance from oppression? Will you welcome all who come in search of freedom and opportunity or send us back to meet our fate?"

To hundreds of thousands of Haitians, strangers in a strange land, their hope for a future rests with our government's answer to that question.

# Sectarian

By David Mermelstein



## DOWN

- 1 Alperovitz
- 2 Honest one
- 3 Radical
- 4 Flourish
- 5 Period of abstinence
- 6 NOW goal
- 7 Radical org.
- 8 Political suffix
- 9 Protuberances
- 10 Inhabitant of Great Britain
- 11 Prefix for combatant
- 12 French vineyard
- 13 Fr. pronoun
- 21 It. fish
- 23 Jerk
- 24 German pronoun
- 25 In a union: Abbr.
- 26 In US, sectarians
- 27 Econ. activity
- 28 Jack of clubs
- 29 Cycle prefix
- 30 Leader of 27 Across
- 31 Nice friend
- 32 Affirmative answer

- 35 Lazy one
- 37 100,000 rupees
- 40 Prep school
- 43 \_\_\_\_\_ Alte
- 45 Belgian painter
- 46 "\_\_\_\_\_daily..."
- 47 \_\_\_\_\_ de France
- 49 Finish
- 50 Tiny
- 51 Rocky peak
- 53 Golf ball position
- 54 East Germany
- 56 Hill dweller
- 61 Favulist
- 63 Stew or terrier
- 64 Go away!
- 65 Simple
- 66 Ecologically dangerous substance
- 67 Neighbor of Leb.
- 68 Lennon's companion
- 70 Urologist's org.
- 71 Russian commune
- 72 Ball player Mel
- 74 Interjection of surprise
- 75 Negative conjunction

## ACROSS

- 1 Wearing matter
- 5 Revolutionary
- 10 '60's org.
- 14 Exchanged for Powers
- 15 Muse of love
- 16 Reactor term

- 17 Decorate again
- 18 Cited
- 19 Burden
- 20 Elect
- 22 Werner's group
- 24 French river
- 27 Amer. sect
- 30 One of the movements
- 33 Gershwin
- 34 Auto man, Alfred P.
- 36 Feather
- 38 Id companion
- 39 Birchites epithet
- 41 Condition of sale
- 42 Prefix for graph
- 44 Engineering school, for short
- 46 European river
- 48 Panther
- 52 Companion to geom.
- 55 Political extremist
- 57 Lights
- 58 Cover
- 59 Legal matter
- 60 Raider head
- 62 Greaser
- 64 Letters for Bernadette
- 65 "to \_\_\_\_\_ is ..."
- 66 Harrington org.
- 69 Island group
- 73 Fleming and Hunter
- 77 Before mite, this can be shattering
- 78 Does not include
- 79 Display
- 80 Member of 76 Down
- 81 Political organization
- 82 Musical instrument

The answer to the previous puzzle:







The author (left), his daughter and wife pose with Ramon Castro in front of a vista of the Picadura.

By A.B. Magil

Ninety miles from Florida—and you're on another planet. With my wife and adult daughter I recently spent two weeks in Cuba.

We worked out our own program, which included visits to some places that were off the beaten tourist track, as well as interviews with leading figures in politics, education, health, science, the judiciary and literature, plus an evening with members of a Jewish youth group.

Naturally we were shown only the best; in a sense we saw a showcase Cuba. But it was not a showcase of paste jewels, nor one for the pleasure of an elite. On the contrary, the relevance of all that we saw to the life and future of the Cuban people is profound.

## HOUSING

Is there a housing problem in Cuba? There is. But it's entirely different from the housing problem in New York or Washington or Chicago. One of the revolutionary regime's first concerns after the overthrow of the Batista dictatorship was to provide decent homes for the majority of Cubans who were wretchedly housed. The use of middle- and upper-class homes abandoned by those who fled Cuba provided only a small part of the solution. Despite the building of 200,000 new housing units between 1959 and 1975, the problem remains acute especially since the population has nearly doubled in 20 years. But slums have been eliminated—the slums that were still there when I visited Cuba in 1960, a year and a half after the revolution's triumph—and many thousands of the dirt-floor *bohios* in the countryside have been replaced.

Housing, however, has a lower priority than the construction of other facilities such as factories, schools and hospitals. Yet it is precisely in the sphere of housing that there has emerged a striking example of popular initiative and commitment that tells a great deal about the character of this people's revolution: the uniquely Cuban phenomenon of "microbrigades."

It started in 1971 when Fidel Castro visited a factory in Havana and got flak from the workers about their poor housing. Out of the discussion came the suggestion that the workers themselves would volunteer to build new homes with government assistance. Today nearly every "work center" has its own microbrigade consisting of 33 men and women. They are released from their jobs to spend a year or more putting up new apartment buildings while continuing to receive their regular pay. The government provides materials, architects and trained builders who instruct and supervise the volunteers.

Just outside Havana the largest housing project in the country, Alamar, has become a new city whose present population of 40,000 will eventually expand to 150,000. There we saw in action a microbrigade of food workers, headed by a black woman, at a five-story building nearing completion. It has 30 two- and three-bedroom apartments, each with a balcony and ceramic tile floors. Most new apartment buildings are four or five stories with brightly painted exteriors.

Alfredo, our chauffeur, who has served on four microbrigades, explained that such service doesn't necessarily entitle one to a new apartment. The entire factory or office elects a

commission of five—none of whom can be an applicant for an apartment—who recommend how the new dwellings are to be allotted. The first criterion is merit—performance on the regular job and in the community. The second is need. A meeting of the workers then votes to accept, reject or modify the commission's proposals. Rent is 10 percent of the income of the family head.

What happens to production with the loss of 33 workers from a factory or office? The rest of the employees take up the slack by putting in extra work—unpaid. So the voluntary aspect is twofold.

One might ask: how truly voluntary are the microbrigade and related phenomena? The same question might be asked about the many thousands who during the *zafra*, the annual sugar harvest from November to May, give up their Sundays to help in the backbreaking labor of cutting cane with a machete. Undoubtedly peer pressure is a factor. But my impression too is that this revolution, made by the Cuban people themselves (however much they owe its survival to Soviet economic aid), and led by the charismatic Fidel, has generated a large measure of patriotic fervor and commitment.

As Alfredo, who knew hunger as one of 12 children of a seasonal agricultural worker and who has given up many Sundays for the *zafra*, put it: "The government gives me and my wife work, free education for our children, free medical care. Why shouldn't I make a contribution too?"

## CROSS-CURRENTS

Of course there are those who feel differently. In the office of the Cuban airlines my wife and daughter encountered a woman who had just returned from visiting her son and daughter-in-law in Miami. With tears in her eyes she spoke of the enviable luxurious life they were leading. Another incident: on the beach at Santa Maria, while sitting in the shade apart from the rest of our group, I was approached by two young Cubans who asked me to help one of them—via an illegal currency transaction—acquire a pair of jeans in a store reserved for foreigners. They accosted me in full view of Alfredo, who had previously chased them with the warning: "We are government functionaries"—technically an exaggeration.

These two incidents illustrate not only the existence of cross-currents in Cuban society and the fact that clothing is limited in supply and variety, but a major plus: the absence of fear. No doubt Cuba has an efficient secret police, as our CIA has discovered, but its targets are evidently real subversion and espionage, not oral disaffection or petty crime.

## PICADURA

On a hot afternoon Alfredo drove us two hours east of Havana to the Valley of the Picadura. Before the revolution this was rugged, hilly land of stones and scrub covering 162,000 acres where sharecroppers worked on large landed estates. The new regime's agrarian reform converted the sharecroppers into landowning small peasants. They raised cattle, but with the poor Cuban milk cows and this inhospitable soil, eking out a living wasn't easy.

Ten years ago the government decided that most of Picadura could be transformed into a breeding ground for cattle and a large-scale dairy farm. Tons of topsoil would have to be brought in, grasslands planted, hundreds of miles of fences built, modern dairies constructed. Above all, the peasants would have to agree to turn their land over to the state. Most of them—one account says all of them—did. Some might say they were coerced. Perhaps. However, the carrot offered by government must have been tempting: lifetime rent to the peasants for the land, monthly salaries, pensions, new rent-free housing and other amenities.

The man who was put in charge of Picadura and has directed it ever since welcomed us shortly after we arrived—Ramon Castro, one year older than

Fidel and the least known of the three Castro brothers.

Before the revolution, Ramon Castro told us, he owned 3,000 cows—the Castros come of a wealthy landowning family. But for the past ten years he has been immersed in the massive effort to transform Picadura into one of the outstanding successes of Cuban socialism. Last year he was honored by being named a National Hero of Labor.

Ramon Castro invited us to join him in his jeep. Puffing alternately at cigarettes and cigars, joking, ribbing us, flirting with my daughter, talking seriously about the work of Picadura, he drove us on a fascinating journey through "his" vast domain that included visits to the homes of peasants (strictly speaking, they are salaried farm workers).

We passed a field where children, supervised by their teachers, were painting fences. Work, suitably adjusted to age, complements study in Cuba—it's one of the cardinal principles of socialist education. "Children have to be taught to work," observed Castro. "We don't live in a consumers' society. We live in a society that fills our needs. We aren't slaves of cars."

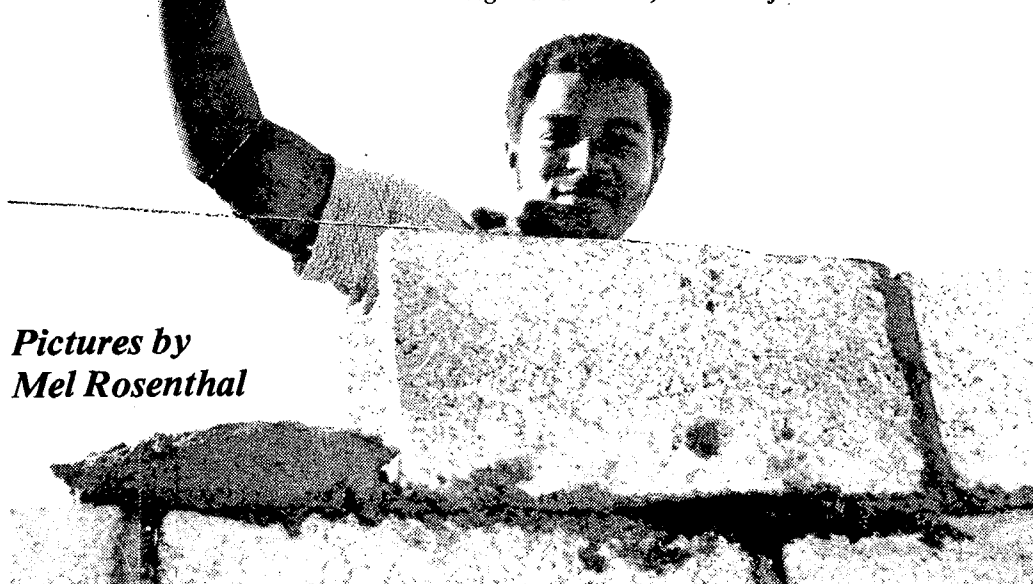
Milk is a prime example of this difference in goals between the old and the new society. Before the revolution the upper and middle classes had many American cars, but Cuba imported most of its limited supply of milk in powdered form from the United States. The trade embargo after the rupture of diplomatic relations put an end to that. The native Cuban cows, the Zebu and criollo, are well adapted to the climate, but give only 1 or 2 liters of milk a day.



# CUBA UNDER CONSTRUCTION

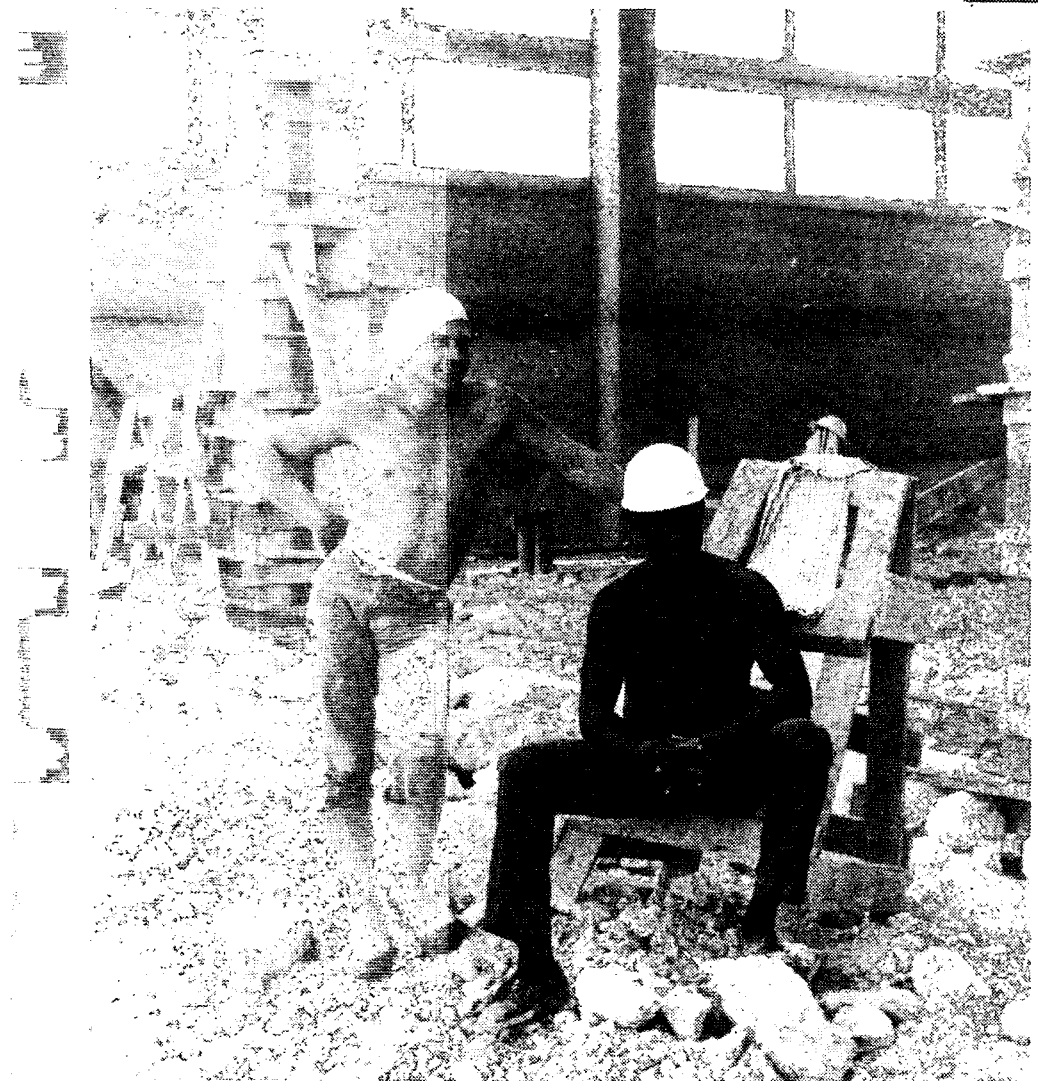
*Life can be spartan, and there are plenty of problems here. But there are also plenty of answers, and they come from the roots.*

*Agrarian reform has brought machines to the countryside (right and below, workers from Alamar microbrigade).*



Pictures by  
Mel Rosenthal





At Picadura, Castro explained, specialists have crossed the Zebu with the Canadian Holstein and other strains in extensive experiments that have produced a new breed: the Siboney. It gives less milk than the Holstein, but more beef, and much more milk than the Zebu or criollo. Today, thanks to Picadura and similar enterprises, milk and milk products are plentiful.

#### PICADURA'S PEOPLE

The jeep stopped in front of a row of new apartment buildings, and Ramon Castro led the way up to the second-floor home of Jose Manuel Hernandez, one of Picadura's workers. A heavy-set man with a smiling face, he and his wife welcomed us with glasses of beer. Hernandez, who appeared to be in his fifties, proved to be an articulate man full of revolutionary ardor.

"Before the revolution we paid rent to the landlord. When the *zafra* was over, there were seven months of *tiempo muerto* (Dead time—unemployment). The agrarian reform law gave us land. But then the state proposed to

incorporate our land in this enterprise. As revolutionary peasants we understood that we should give the land to the state. Now the state gives me 290 pesos a month as rent. I also have a salary of 105 pesos a month. Before the revolution I used to earn about 30 pesos. My wife also gets 80 pesos a month. When we retire, we'll have pensions that will be no less than 80 pesos a month. We used to live in a *bohio*. Now we have a home such as every person should have." His arm swept around the living room that looked out on the balcony. "And we have security for the rest of our lives."

Hernandez paused. "We can appreciate the difference between then and now. My daughter had major surgery, and the only thing I had to give was thanks to the doctors. Before the revolution my wife needed an operation. I not only had to pay, but had to make an election deal with the local politician to get her into a hospital."

The jeep took us further on to the home of one of Picadura's leading citizens, 83-year-old Margarita Tio, who

taught school in this area for 50 years and is now retired. Her husband, Antonio Hernandez (no relation to the other Hernandez), a retired peasant and agricultural worker, is president of the local school board. Margarita Tio's eyes glowed in her golden brown face as she told us of the early years when she had to traverse the many miles to her one-room schoolhouse on foot or horseback. And to get a job as a teacher one had to give six months' salary to the local politician. "What a difference in education today," she said. "I taught all six grades, and a few students did manage to finish the sixth grade, but most did not. They had to work to help their parents."

#### PODER POPULAR

For years the U.S. media railed at the absence of elections in Cuba. Many leftists also were disturbed that so many years after the victory of the revolution, government was highly centralized and no steps had been taken to set up representative political bodies.

When a change came and nationwide elections were held in October 1976, they were largely ignored in this country. For the Cubans it was a major event. They call it "institutionalization"—the creation of a formal governmental structure with representative bodies at the municipal, provincial and national levels. This was done after nationwide discussion and a trial run in Matanzas province.

On a bright Monday afternoon we sat sipping rum collins in the conference room of the building that houses the government of the largest of Cuba's 14 provinces, that of Havana, talking to Dr. Oscar Fernandez Mell. A former physician, who was with Che Guevara's column in the Sierra Maestra, he is now president of the Havana provincial assembly. A tall, strong-featured man with a slightly gravelly voice, Dr. Fernandez Mell explained in great detail the new governmental setup called *Poder Popular* (People's Power).

In each of Cuba's 169 municipalities elections are held every two and a half years by universal suffrage starting at age 16. The voting is nonpartisan—the Communist Party nominates no candidates. Neighborhood meetings in each electoral district nominate from two to eight candidates for delegate to the municipal assembly. With only one to be elected, the voters have a choice. If no candidate wins a majority, there is a runoff between the two leaders. In electing by secret ballot an executive committee, the members of the municipal assembly again have a choice, 25 percent more candidates being presented than the number of posts to be filled.

The municipal assemblies elect largely from their own ranks, the delegates to the provincial assemblies and the deputies to the National Assembly. However, representative individuals who are not members of any municipal assembly are also chosen. Thus, the National Assembly deputies include the internationally renowned poet, Nicolas Guillen, and the two-time Olympic heavyweight boxing champion, Teofilo Stevenson, who triumphed again at the recent Pan-American Games in Puerto Rico.

The two lower bodies deal with problems of production and social services, and every municipal assembly delegate is required to give a regular accounting to his or her constituents. The National Assembly is the only legislative body and chooses the Council of State, which is in effect the supreme organ of government. Its president—currently Fidel Castro—selects the cabinet.

#### CARLOS RAFAEL

Carlos Rafael Rodriques (known by Cubans as Carlos Rafael) is generally considered number three in the Cuban leadership, after Fidel and Raoul Castro. He is an old friend whom I first met in Mexico in the early 1950s and saw again in Havana in 1960 after the revolution, when he was teaching economics at the University of Havana. Today he is a member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party, a vice-

president of the Council of State, and a deputy prime minister with special responsibility in the sphere of foreign affairs.

I asked him about Cuban participation in the war in Angola. Contrary to the impression created by the U.S. media, the Cuban troops are not contingents of the regular armed forces. "We first sent technical aid," said Carlos Rafael, "and then military instructors and equipment. After Angola was invaded by South African forces toward the end of October 1975, the Angolan government requested additional help, and we decided to raise volunteer units. There were more people who wanted to fight in Angola than we were able to accept, and we had to turn many down. The only thing comparable to it was during the 1962 missile crisis when many thousands volunteered to defend the country."

The Cubans in Angola are not raw recruits since most previously served in the Cuban armed forces or in the militia. Cuba has involved with African liberation movements almost since its own revolution triumphed when it sent arms to the Algerian National Liberation Front in its war against French colonialism.

I asked Carlos Rafael why socialist countries in eastern Europe had not sent volunteers to Angola. He replied that on his visits to those countries he had not found the same responsiveness to African liberation struggles. "Our cultural connection with Africa [a large part of the Cuban population is of African origin] has played a part as well as the spirit of internationalism. If the Vietnamese had asked us for military aid, our people would have responded similarly."

The African nexus is indeed part of a wider internationalism. No one who has been in Cuba for even a few days can fail to become aware of the two poles of Cuban ideology: international solidarity, especially with socialist and third-world countries, and continuity between Cuba's socialist revolution and its national independence struggles of the 19th century symbolized by its great liberator-poet, Jose Marti, who is venerated as prophet and mentor.

We talked about moral versus material incentives, a subject of hot controversy in the late '60s, when utopian ideas gained dominance about dissolving the link between wages and work and of moving simultaneously into socialism and communism. Those stormy '60s, when the need to survive against U.S.-sponsored aggression was uppermost, and *ad hoc* improvisation by an inexperienced leadership led to many mistakes, have given way to relative calm and a new maturity in the '70s. The Cuban economy, now in its first Five-Year Plan, faces serious problems, but it grew in 1971-75 at a 10 percent rate compared with four percent in 1966-1970. While dependence on sugar export as the prime earner of hard currency continues, greater diversification in both industry and agriculture is also under way.

The lives of Cubans are from our vantage point spartan. But for the majority the revolution has brought substantial benefits and wiped out the hunger, illiteracy and high unemployment that afflicted the country under the old regime. And the spirit of the people that one senses in the streets, in buses, in restaurants bespeaks a lively ease and pride, with blacks and whites mingling unselfconsciously everywhere.

Praise of the USSR (praise that appears justified by the quantity and quality of Soviet aid) is profuse and pervasive, but it appears that Cubans are running Cuba. The structure of the Communist Party is orthodox and Eurocommunist revision of the traditional Marxist-Leninist canon is, as Carlos Rafael indicated, viewed critically (although good relations are maintained with all the European Communist parties). Formal appearances notwithstanding, my strong impression is that Cuban socialism, even in its blunders, is pursuing its own way and keeping close to the grass roots. *Abe Magil was the long-time editor of Masses and Mainstream.*



**With this issue,**  
*In These Times* begins its fourth year of publication. We are proud that in three years we have grown steadily in circulation and influence and have established ourselves as the leading publication of independent American leftists.

Three years ago, just days after Jimmy Carter was elected President, we said in our first editorial that more and more people were finding the differences between the two major parties inadequate to meet the problems facing our society. Both voters and non-voters know, or sense, we said, that the limits set by the major parties prevent the shedding of failed alternatives and the definition of new ones.

We saw then, as we do now, that the political system is at an impasse, that it presents us all with choices between almost equally obnoxious, or no longer credible, alternatives.

We wrote three years ago that capitalism is the unspoken reality of American politics, that the major parties praise capitalism, usually by another name, but never seriously discuss it. And the protection agencies of corporate capitalism, the Democrats and Republicans, are committed to accommodating government policy and public expectations to the increasingly limited capacities of the system. If they succeed in keeping the question of corporate power out of

public debate they are only doing their job.

But, by the same token, their success is a measure of the failure of socialists to do their job—which is to bring capitalism into politics as the great issue of our time. *In These Times* intends to help do that, and to see the job through. Our increasing readership and our growing support, reflected in part in the greetings below, are a measure of our success, even in the face of painfully inadequate funding and a continuing drift toward conservatism in government. But the job is barely begun.

We believe tens of millions of Americans are ready to consider a socialism deeply committed to

democracy. As we wrote on our first anniversary, this means a socialism opposed to the statism of corporate capitalism and committed to self-government of the people as citizens, workers and freely-associating members of social, political and religious organizations. It means a socialism for which diversity and popular participation is not merely a strategy, but a basic principle, for the movement and also for a future socialist society.

Therefore, we wrote two years ago, socialists should enter the electoral arena both because electoral politics is an essential part of working class struggle against corporate power and because it is the way to build

democratic norms rooted in popular sovereignty into the socialist movement.

In recent years the organized labor movement has begun to go beyond narrow collective bargaining politics to a struggle over the control of investment as the condition for protecting its members' immediate interests. Labor needs and is seeking allies to the left. Similarly, blacks, women, hispanics, consumer-protection, environmental, energy, and community organizations have moved increasingly into conflict with the corporate investment system.

We expect these movements, however tenuous they now are, to continue to develop, and to force a basic realignment of American party politics before they can converge to form a new major party oriented toward socialism. Until that happens, socialists and other anti-corporate forces will engage in electoral work in and outside the major parties. In 1980 socialists and other leftists will be active within the Democratic party, in support of Sen. Edward Kennedy or others, and in congressional or local elections. Others will be active in the Citizens' party or independent local campaigns. Our major concern at this point is not what tactic to support, but with the confrontation of corporate power through the development of a program of social goals to be achieved through social control of investment.

### *In Memory of*

**CHARLES CHENG**

*Killed in the DC-10 crash May 25, 1979.  
 One of 273 victims of a system that puts  
 profits before people—a system that Charlie  
 struggled against all his life.*

*Friends & comrades in Detroit, L.A., Cambridge  
 and Washington, D.C.*

### *Congratulations*

**THE DETROIT ALLIANCE  
 FOR A RATIONAL ECONOMY**

# A Salute to IN THESE TIMES

from the Union that Brings You the Best

## **INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS AND AEROSPACE WORKERS, AFL-CIO**

William W. Winpisinger  
 International President

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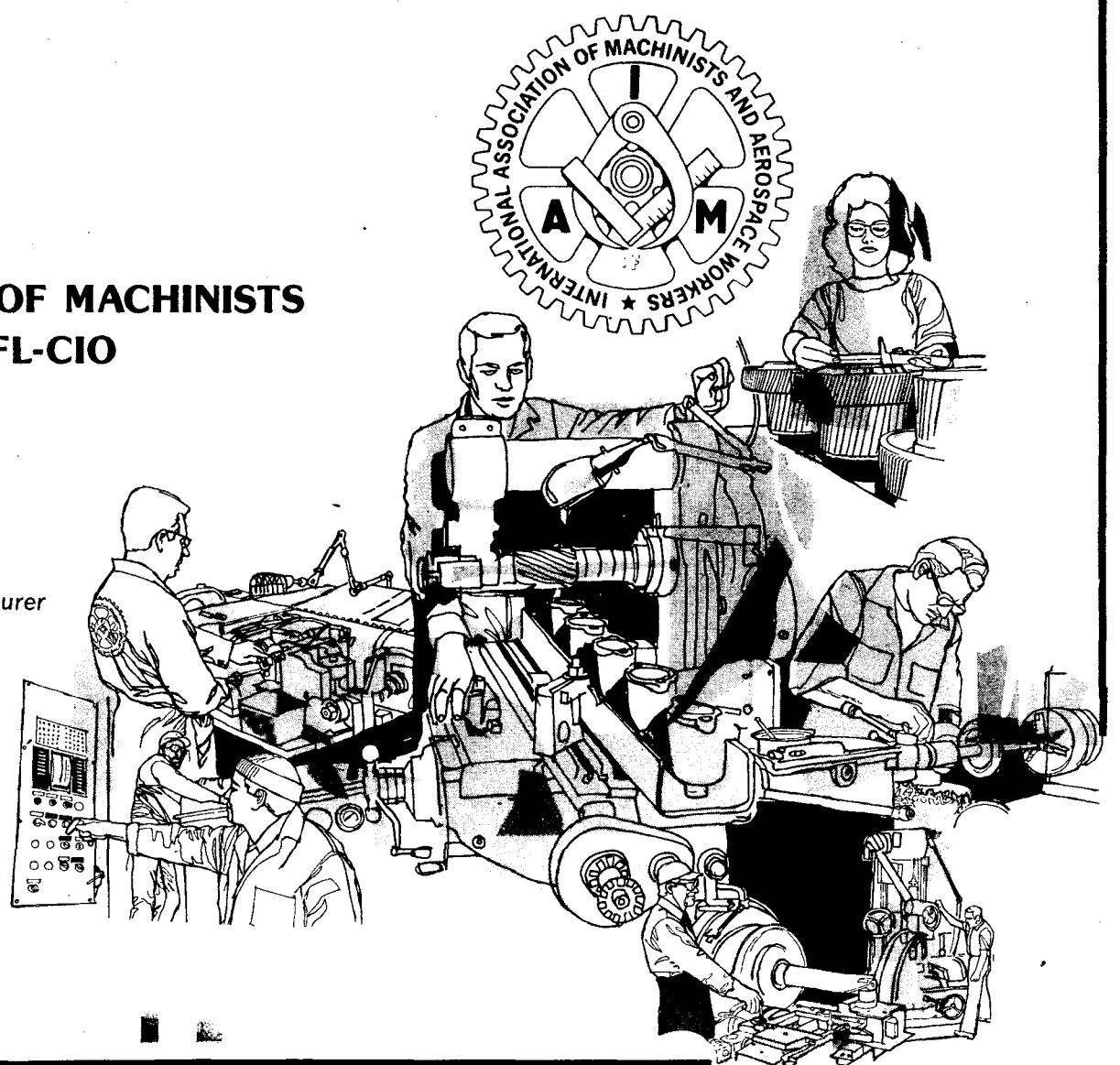
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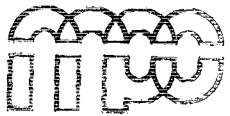
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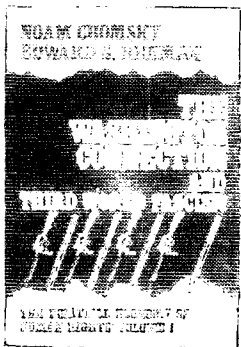
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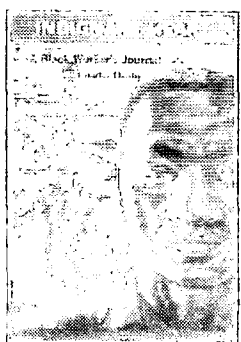
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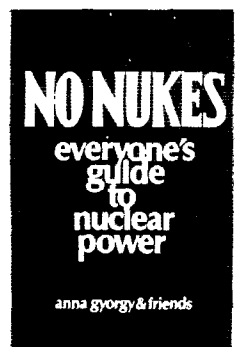
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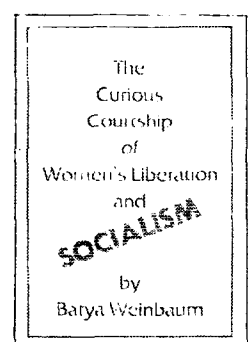
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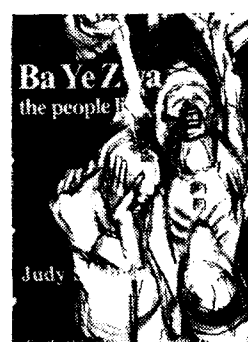
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## VODKA-COLA

By Charles Levinson  
Gordon and Cremonesi, 1978

By William K. Tabb

**I**N THE MID-1950S NIKITA KRUSCHEV used to talk about burying the capitalist West: "In 15 years we will have more than overtaken the U.S.," he said. We don't hear talk like that from Kosygin and Brezhnev. They are more interested in having capitalists build hotels in Moscow and in buying data processing equipment and new factories with technology needed to modernize the Soviet economy. The trick has been to find some way to pay for them.

Life for capitalist managers is no bed of roses either. There is the constant pressure to increase sales, find new markets and lower production costs. And there is worry about discipline in the work force.

Such pressures on the East and West suggest a mutually compatible solution. Keep the cold war for domestic control (the need for an external enemy and, in the West, profits from military sales), but detente to open the markets of the East to Western corporations. To Charles Levinson, author of *Vodka-Cola*, the biggest peacocks are the Rockefellers and their friends who have found a means of tapping the market potential of the communist countries through an innovative organizational device called co-production.

Co-production involves "Western enterprise bringing its technology and managerial know-how to an Eastern European country and setting up a partnership of one of various types with a foreign trade organization of the Eastern government who supplies land, buildings, sometimes simple components, but, above all, labor. Low-interest, hard currency credits to finance the manufacture and transport of equipment, machines, dies, training of operatives, and so on, are usually furnished by the Western company's government either directly or in conjunction with private banks as a loan to the Eastern partner or associate. Once the project goes on stream, the end products are shared by the partners according to proportions fixed in the contract."

The main advantage for the Eastern bloc is access to technology that they cannot get any other way and that can be copied in some enterprises not covered by contracts. They also get long term, low interest credits of foreign currencies that are self-liquidating—repaid from production under the co-production agreement. They may also gain hard currency from sales after repayment. Thus the Eastern bloc is guaranteed markets for output without the need to establish their own sales apparatus.

The transnational corporation gains access to new markets but without having legally to own the plant. Socialist purity is maintained. Foreign capitalists get access to labor that may cost only a fifth to a tenth of what cost at home, as well as uninterrupted scheduling and a well disciplined labor force. Profits under such conditions are more or less guaranteed.

#### Both sides gain.

The advantages of the *Vodka-Cola* accommodation are large to both sides. "For the East, facing an age of technology and capital-intensive industry, the technology gap had become an unbridgeable chasm. Internal self-corrections had failed. The only way out of the critical dilemma of how to upgrade the Soviet economic system qualitatively," writes Levinson, "was to shift economic priorities from ideological isolation toward integration into the new science-based global economy of the capitalist international monopolies."

The absence of free trade unions and the right to strike makes this arrangement attractive to multinationalists.

The innovation that facilitates this marriage of convenience is the use of voluminous credits from Western banks and governments with repayment guaranteed by the state in the East and



# Vodka-Cola

## Are socialist countries partners of Western business?

underwritten in buy-back and counter-purchase agreements. A Western firm builds an auto plant. The East pays for it in parts that are shipped to the firm's assembly plant in the West, or, perhaps, paid in other stipulated products.

Since only goods are exchanged there need be no discussion of Western monopolists investing in the East exploiting laborers, extracting surplus value from them with the cooperation of the workers' state. The socialist economy retains its autonomy, its ability to plan and progress toward communism. This relationship of unequal exchange means higher profits for the transnational corporation.

Runaway shops to the communist world? A growing trend, Levinson reports, but one neither side wants to publicize. Politically, he suggests Western corporations are all for better relations with existing governing elites in the East. Indeed they have a "vested, direct, financial interest in the perpetuation of these oppressive regimes and must be among their most solid, if tacit, supporters."

Levinson sees the fall of Richard Nixon as an attempt by a faction in the CIA to stem the headlong rush into detente by the Kissinger-Rockefeller faction, for whom Nixon was fronting. Readers not disposed to such theories will find little to support this and a long list of other allegations. Indeed, the book is weakest when it gets into conspiracy theories, although Levinson's accounts, when not overly involuted, are fascinating. He is at his best when he describes the economic strategies of the Soviets and the transnationals.

The Italians in the late 1950s were the first to extend large scale credits (Fiat to build the Togliattigrad factory, which now exports to the West in direct competition with Fiat).

Levinson asserts that in the space of four years (which four he never states) both the public and private sectors of Italian industry transferred over 50 percent of their potential to the Communist world. He pictures the Vodka-Espresso operation as milking Italy, creating unemployment and destroying the economy even as it enriches the Italian Communist Party and individual Communists who trade with and invest in Eastern Europe. Levinson pictures Giovanni Agnelli, David Rockefeller, Berlinger and Brezhnev all in it together at the expense of the workers of the world.

Levinson gives \$3 billion as the figure for the Soviet Union's cumulative debt to Italy and points out the irony of financially troubled Italy, dependent on loans from the stronger capitalist powers extending such credit to the USSR and other COMECON countries. In 1977 Montedison had seven chemical plants with a total value of \$1.2 billion under construction in the USSR. To what extent are such undertakings—ethylene-propylene rubbers, chemical fibers and fertilizer plants—runaway shops leading to factory closure, layoffs or at least to fewer new jobs for Italian workers? What position should communist-led unions and the Party in Italy take?

In the '60s the French, British and West German governments extended export credits to the East, and for increasingly long repayment periods. In

1971 the U.S. removed most of its restrictions and soon was in with both feet. American bankers have also followed their European competitors in opening branch offices in socialist nations. The first National Bank of Chicago is now in Poland and the Polish National Bank has relations with the Deutsche Bank, Barclays and the Royal Bank of Canada, as well as Bank of American, Chase and Citibank. The Moscow Narodny Bank was one of the first to become heavily involved in Eurodollar lending and is involved in joint ventures with Western banks around the world.

In 1977 the Hungarian Finance Ministry issued a decree allowing a 49 percent equity for Western corporations engaging in joint ventures in production as well as sales and service organizations. Levinson quotes a spokesperson for the National Bank of Hungary: ".....we recognize that some Western firms are reluctant to become involved without being able to manage the product as well. The new decree offers conditions comparable to those for setting up joint ventures in Western Europe."

Poland has permitted 100 percent foreign ownership of some enterprises. Bulgaria and Renault have cooperated, so have Rumania and Control Data Corporation, and Yugoslavia has a wide range of joint ventures with Bell Telephone, Dow, VW, GE, and others.

#### Licenses.

Eastern producers license Western technology in almost every industry—chemicals and electronics, computer and telecommunications. Levinson asserts that over 20 percent of Poland's industrial production is based upon Western licenses. Equipment is also leased from capitalists although not extensively because this would be a blatant introduction of capitalist ownership of the means of production.

Occidental Petroleum's arrangement to develop natural resources in Siberia may be represented as a Western firm being employed by the state. However, such arrangements are not much different from partnership agreements transnationals have developed elsewhere in the world. For example, OPEC now owns their oil but petroleum company contracts for operation and distribution are still sources of huge profits to American, British and Dutch corporations.

Levinson estimates that "Compensation deals involving purchase of Western plant equipment, with repayment in end products and self-liquidating credit arrangements, account for roughly 40 percent of the overall Soviet Western debt, which in 1976 amounted to around \$14 billion. He gives a probable loan figure (Western banks to Communist states and enterprises) of \$100 billion for 1980 and suggests that "any serious threat of default by any one Communist country would induce tremors and possible collapse of the West's monetary and financial system. Together they compel capitalist support and protection of the political status quo."

Levinson is at his best when he describes the interpenetration and accommodations. He tells the story of Pepsi's exclusive cola dealership in the USSR (and distribution of Soviet vodka here), which goes back to Pepsi President Ronald Kendall's contributions to underwriting Richard Nixon's comeback, Pepsi's interests being handled by the law firm of Mudge, Rose (home of John Mitchell and Richard Nixon), and Kendall's later appointment by Nixon to co-chair (with German Vishiani, Kosygin's son-in-law) the US-USSR Trade and Economic Council.

We know about Carter Coke and Eastern Europe (Atlanta based Coke lent Jimmy Carter not only the company plane and financial aid and political guidance but one of its Washington-based lawyers, Joseph Califano, and an Atlanta-based Lawyer, Griffin Bell, among others). Levinson also tells the story of the great Soviet wheat deal, details the influence

*Continued on next page.*



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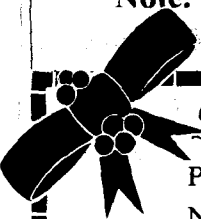
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*Continued from previous page.*

of the Rockefellers and operatives like Kissinger, the use of tax exempt foundations and of academic experts.

Whether a technical elite with monopoly over information and crucial managerial knowhow is coming to take control from the old guard of political oldtimers is perhaps less interesting than the question of whether *Vodka-Cola* moves the Soviet Union closer to the possibilities of a communist future as envisioned by Karl Marx.

Levinson believes a negative convergence is underway, an adopting of the worst of each system by the other as oppressive bureaucracy spreads in the West and the anti-social effects of profit drives the East. His perspective has a contribution to make to the perennial discussion on the nature of the Soviet Union which Luigi Lowenfish has described as another example of the proverbial examination of the elephant by the six blind men.

ties generally have not really addressed the question of economic transition to socialism of backward nations within a world under capitalist hegemony. The failure to develop a successful socialist program for transition in a hostile capitalist world is a central failing of the left.

This is an important and stimulating book. Yet there are a number of disappointments—irrelevant chapters and long, pointless digressions. There is the sense one is sometimes reading unedited 3 X 5 cards that have been taped together and typed into an exceedingly choppy text. The author is short on amenities and long on spleen. Accusations are endless and mixed freely with allegedly factual material. The stories are fascinating but also often unsubstantiated. All sorts of unholy alliances are suggested, some in detailed accounts that seem a step up from gossip column hearsay and conjecture.

If one wants to be shocked by im-

## There isn't a socialist world economy and a capitalist one, but one world-wide economy.

Juridicially, the means of production in the Soviet Union are owned by the state and governed by planning. Labor power is not a commodity. Workers are guaranteed the right to a job and wages set on a consistent basis across enterprises. Yet, while the workers' state may own the means of production, does this mean control by the free association of direct producers? Prices are administered, but the law of value seems to play a prominent role in allocation and the wage system and the social relations of work are not dissimilar to those of the capitalist West. Categorizing the Soviet Union as a socio-economic formation raises a host of difficult questions.

It seems to me more fruitful to look at the alternatives any nation state must face in relations with the worldwide capitalist system while at a lower stage of economic development. One of the major trends in the so-called Third World today is toward state capitalism often under military direction, whether by the right as in Brazil or the left as in Peru. Such states have tried to use nationalized instruments and joint enterprises as the best way to obtain modern technology and foreign loans. Incapable of autonomous development, their nationalism takes the form of state capitalism under which the public sector or mixed corporation takes the lead in promoting development.

This pattern of dependent development, rather than the extent of communist characteristics or restored capitalism, is most important in understanding where the Soviet Union is going. In desperate need of advanced technology and the foreign exchange to purchase it, the USSR and Eastern European nations are accommodating to the requirements of transnational capital. They believe the adjustment is consistent with socialist principles. Critics do not.

*Vodka-Cola* offers a wealth of data and some analyses to help us understand this evolving interpenetration.

### One world.

The reality is that there is one world economy, not two—a socialist economy and a capitalist one. The contradictions of capitalism impose restricted choice on all states seeking an independent path. Socialism cannot be achieved in one country. Not because of the inevitable triumph of bureaucrats, but because in the absence of a world-wide economy, the development of the forces of production are limited.

To blame abuses on errors, diabolic or opportunist leadership without facing the questions of how best to overcome backwardness, leads to abstract idealism. In a profound sense Eurocommunism, the Easter bloc and left par-

morality in high places, this is the book to read. However, additional care in its preparation would have paid dividends.

Charles Levinson is a Canadian who after earning a doctorate in Paris has worked for international labor federations in Europe. He is also a cynic of the first rank and a pessimist. Of the hundreds, perhaps thousands, of political figures, academics, industrialists and organizations described in this book there is not a generous or positive comment that I can remember about any of them.

Noam Chomsky, presumably because he kept his post at MIT (a "Pentagon factory") and did not break off relations with the U.S. Air Force, which generously financed his linguistic studies, is said to have "plunged into the Vietnam conflict like a bad swimmer diving into the sea, with a lifebelt." Herbert Marcuse is another "dummy" used by the establishment. His *One Dimensional Man* was "totally financed by the Rockefeller Foundation."

Marcus Raskin and Richard Barnet of the Institute for Policy Studies, are referred to by Levinson as Marcus Ruskin and Richard Kauffman of the Institute for Political Studies (financed by the Samuel Rabin, i.e., Rubin Foundation). There is within this 300-odd page book a potential for a first rate 150-200 page work, if an editor with patience and good research skills would fact check and rework the manuscript.

Who are the villains in Levinson's mind? "Anyone who criticizes the 'American State' or the 'capitalist system' is clinging onto absurdly abstract and theoretical terms which only serve to reinforce the real powers sitting snugly behind their screen of tattered concepts."

Who's back there isn't clear but Levinson appears to mean Rockefeller-Morgan, et al. But then again he writes "It is not the capitalist bourgeoisie which is to blame, but the aesthetes of the limited circulation new idea, who make their careers out of just and comfortable causes, and who have continued to lead us astray over the last 30 years." Shades of Spiro Agnew. Levinson describes the "Western left wing academics as the clowns" responsible for the present situation.

They're all here, Meyer Lansky and McGeorge (or "Mac George") Bundy, Cyrus Eaton and John Mitchell, Bebe ("Baby") Rebozo and Samuel Huntington ("Huntingdon"), COMECON and the Trilateral Commission.

Is the book reliable? No. Is it worth reading? Yes, indeed. But as David Rockefeller told German Vishiani, "caveat emptor."

*William K. Tabb teaches economics at Queens College, CUNY.*



# LIFE IN THE U.S.

CALIFORNIA REPUBLICAN CONGRESSMAN Robert Dornan emceed the Saturday night awards banquet at this year's National Right to Life Convention in Fort Mitchell, Kentucky, across the Ohio River from Cincinnati. The assembly of 1300 conventioners was dressed up, psyched up, and a bit tipsy. Dornan, author of an amendment to the Department of Defense appropriations bill restricting payments for abortions to military personnel, began the evening with a little anecdote about the "competition." "One of the demonstrators outside is wearing a T-shirt that says, 'Keep Your Hands Off My Body.'" He paused and added sarcastically, "Looking at that lovely woman I thought, 'I wouldn't touch your body.'"

So I sat there at a dinner table with my press badge pinned on my favorite dress, silent and miserable, until one woman explained how to get the chili stain off my sweater (Cincinnati is famous for chili, and I'd had plenty), and another woman said not only that she had been to New York City, but that she liked it, a lot. A third woman sitting to my left talked less than I did, though I suppose for a different reason: she was just shy. I asked how she got involved with the movement.

"When Right To Life came along, I guess I came out of my shell," she said. "Never used to do anything; never had any money. I just sat at home happy, never thinking that this would happen."

"How does it feel, coming out of your shell?"

"It's not a happy fight, is it?" she asked. "When I work too much my husband complains and I say, 'When it's over, I'll go back to normal.'"

## No church on Sunday.

Most of the participants in the sixth National Right to Life Convention (held last June) were white, married, young, middle aged, and older. Some brought their husbands; more brought their infants. A sort of welcoming crew, made up of about 30 teenage boys and girls, wore cowboy hats and directed traffic inside the huge Drawbridge Motor Inn complex. There was a sign-up sheet in the lobby for girls who wanted to babysit. It was a family affair. Two sisters from Omaha and St. Louis, respectively, reunited at the convention, bringing fellow Right to Lifers from both cities with them.

All conventioners agree that abortion is murder, and though their backgrounds are predominantly Catholic and Protestant, the convention dwelled not on religion, but politics. Workshops in the day and general sessions at night taught people how to "stop killing" through legislation, how to connect abortion with "other" mass crimes historically, and how to raise money for the Right to Life movement. There were cash bars—cocktail hours—every night, but no Sunday morning church service.

I went to the convention because I was curious about the connection between Right to Lifers and feminists both as women and as political activists. But because I have a church background and am in favor of abortion, I also went to the convention to see if I could take it. I felt connected to these women by my present as well as my past. In church I never knew any politically active women; I only began meeting them in feminist circles. Did Right to Lifers, who took motherhood so seriously that they intended to make it compulsory, learn this kind of seriousness from the feminist movement?

At the convention, I confronted familiar attitudes from my past about sex and sex roles, but the women involved in trying to make those attitudes law borrowed their political fervency from women in my present, who'd made that fervency acceptable. I felt Right to Lifers were some creepy mirror image of feminists. They were women so afraid of the changes liberation could effect that



Right-to-Life Convention members (above and below, at the Sunday outdoor rally) listened carefully to speakers.

# A RIGHTFUL LIFE

By Georgia Christgau

*At the anti-abortion convention, everyone was part of one big righteous family. And I got the role of confused teenage daughter.*



they would picket abortion clinics to keep themselves in their place, women anxious to "go back to normal" once the struggle was over.

And we, as feminists, were afraid of them too. I could read the alienation in the headline, "I Was a Spy at the National Right to Life Convention," as

one *Ms.* article ran, but I knew that the Right to Lifers weren't Martians. I knew that in some sense they were just other women, and that that was what I had to confront. I wasn't willing to seek mutual respect between me and women intent on legislating away my right to a choice. But I would sit through their meetings,

walk with them to their demonstrations, and see what happened.

I arrived early Thursday morning. On my way to the U-Totem convenience store up the road, I noticed a metal sign painted yellow and black swung from hinges with the advertisement, "See the Human Life Exhibit." The man running the show offered me a rate card; the bus traveled everywhere, he said, and I could rent it for my town, too.

Standing inside, in front of the panel that explained the relationship between abortion murders and the holocaust, I tried to remember where I had last seen the memory of the holocaust manipulated so shamelessly. It was in the second feature of a blaxploitation double bill on 42nd Street, entitled *Black Gestapo*. I lasted through about 10 minutes of that. Here, though, I still had four days to go.

*Psychology is in the third person; its point of view is that of the spectator. Morality is in the first person; its point of view is that of the agent.*

—Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics

Although I felt that one of the things I had in common with RTL women was that I had lived in the Midwest, I knew as well that our common background in the church was not a midwestern phenomenon. Christianity is as plausible in Flushing, New York, as it is in Fort Mitchell. I grew up in a Presbyterian church in Flushing, and accepted Christ when I was eight years old.

As a Christian I admired the ideal of the giver—a person who is undemanding, helpful, resourceful, and above all, not self-centered. But the more I strived for this goal, the more I resented. I loved to travel, listen to records, and didn't mind being alone. I liked being a giver; but I also liked being a person. At home my parents let me be me. But as I grew up I felt certain I had to decide between only two options: I could continue to serve God and others; or I could be selfish and suffer the consequences, a slave of my will.

I made my choice by deciding that willfulness was not evil, that it would even be moral. In my insular Christian world, only fantastic extremes seemed acceptable. There was no middle road—just the straight and narrow or an abyss. During the months that I decided to leave the church—I was 21—my adventurous spirit took a turn for the worse. One winter night in St. Louis, where I'd gone to live with my boyfriend, I walked home along five miles from work in the dark through a succession of miserable neighborhoods. My boyfriend got so upset that I learned to take better care of myself. But I no longer felt detached from the ugly world, and I expected it would have its way with me; I even set myself up for it. As a girl I could pretend that insularity was safety. But as a woman I resented my own naivete so much that I cultivated a cruel sense of daring; I turned on myself. Naturally, when I first began having sex, I rarely used birth control. I wasn't confident, only reckless.

The Right to Life movement indulges in fantastic extremes born of the same insularity. The conventioners admit that 88 percent of all abortions take place in the first trimester, but they still dwell on abortions that take place in the second and third trimesters, on the California murder trial of the doctor who supposedly strangled an aborted fetus that "breathed." In a workshop entitled "Abortion and Rape," one speaker hypothesized, "So there's a .4 percent to an 8 percent chance a girl could conceive on a Tuesday after a Saturday night rape." RTLers can imagine fetuses in pinafores, killer doctors, and vivid rapes. They refuse to understand how the Hyde Amendment forces poor women to return to the back-alley abortions their mothers and grandmothers used. They say the Hyde Amendment prevents black genocide. They revel in

*Continued on following page.*



Continued from page 23.

the wonder of wombs; their struggle is to remain exactly as they are, and enforce their consciousness on all women.

At the convention, I sometimes felt lonely—not because I am proabortion, but because I am childless. Most women were very nice to me. They recited the information I asked about their families as if there were no distinction between those families and themselves, sometimes as if motherhood were still just beginning—“and my body just entered law school in Indianapolis,” one of them said. Many women I spoke to had had miscarriages, or been unable to conceive. Out of sheer desperation, they believe other women should bear the children they want to raise.

Right to lifers are fond of turning feminist slogans inside out. One button sold at the convention read, “Abortion Exploits Women.” The thrust of the convention was grass-roots political action, but its theme was “The Family: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow.” These women want to win back the “dignity” of housewifery and motherhood that existed before the rest of us began demanding alternatives. But the fantastic goals Right to Lifers fight for suggest that it will be a very long time before they go home. How can any woman expecting to call a constitutional convention in 1980 also expect to have dinner on the table by six o'clock?

Some of the women who have been in Right to Life the longest know that people think they're crazy, but they have a cavalier attitude about it. At the workshop, “How to Pass Pro-Life Legislation in Your State,” the speaker from Missouri reported that one legislator said, “You women are consumed with a madness that I do not comprehend,” to which she responded, “That's the way it goes.” She recalled the initial response of legislators to their informed-consent bill (a law affecting minors which is currently under challenge). He said, “Oh, ladies, now you know I can't do that.” The workshop audience howled at her imitation of his sexist drawl. When one legislator told the Missouri lobbyists, “Honey, it takes two or three years to get a bill through the House,” they took his condescension as a spur to action. You would think this similarity between us, of experiencing sexism, would cheer me up. But I found it only added to my frustration.

Like their acknowledgment of sexism, Right to Lifers' resentment of men is practically unconscious. Sometimes it is disguised as mere superiority: one flyer pictured madonna and child with the headline, “The Most Important Person on Earth.” Sometimes it is disguised as feminism: in the film *Two is a Crowd*, a “liberated” woman journalist decided against abortion despite the counsel of her boyfriend, her editor, and her doctor. By the end of the film, she had had baby, was granted 17 weeks' maternity leave, returned to work, and had gotten rid of all three men in her life. It was clear from the film's title that only two characters in it were necessary: mother and child.

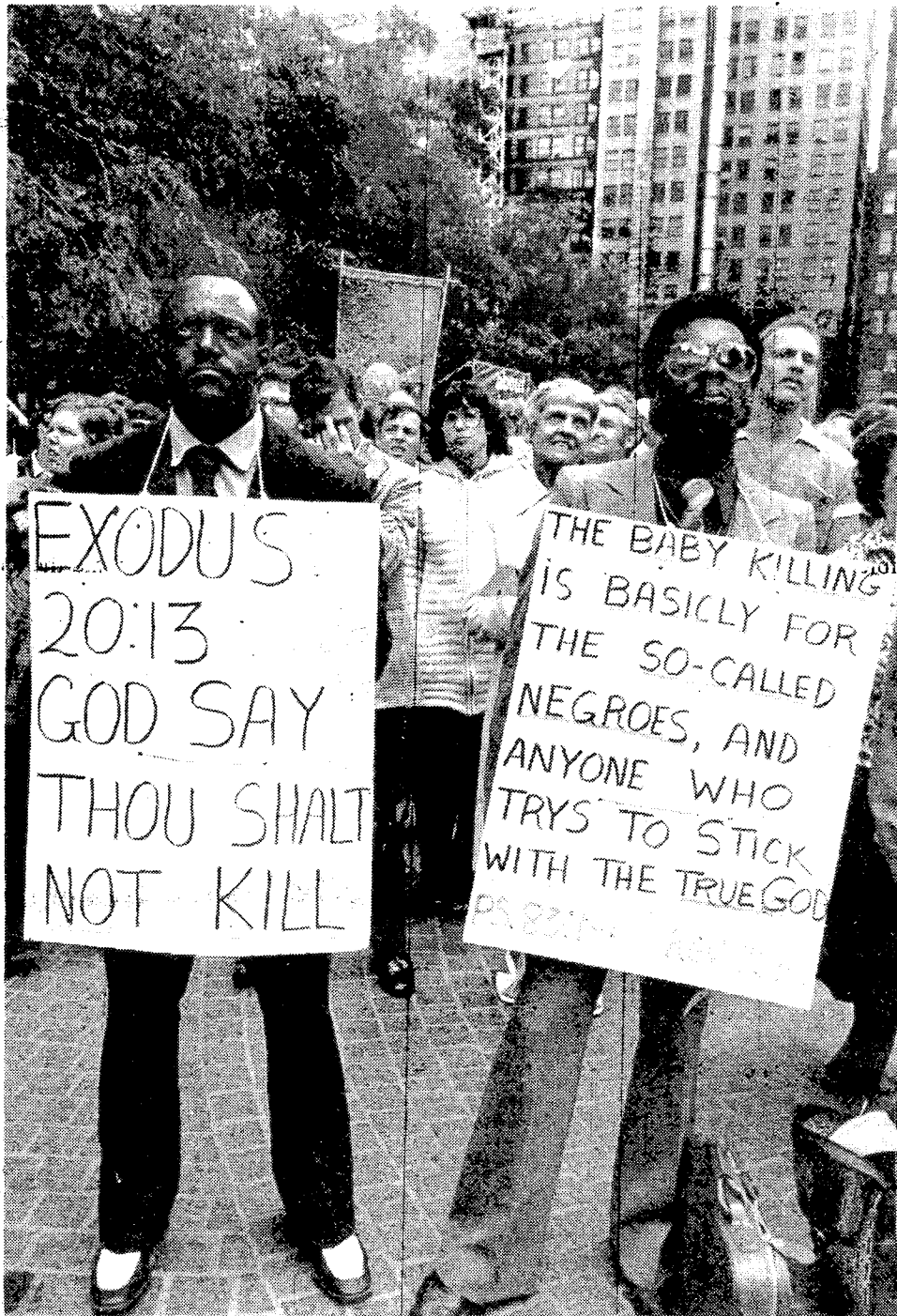
The last church I attended, in St. Louis, was inspired by a respected intellectual in Christian circles, Dr. Francis Schaeffer. His son Franky produced a snazzy 10-minute color film that ran all day, every day, inside the motor inn. The film climaxed in four long shots of an empty room filmed through a smoky screen: an infant in a cage, black people in a cage, Jews in a cage, old people in a cage. It concluded that the history of oppression proved the human race did not care about life. My liberal church had adopted a very common, often ridiculed, right-wing, “pro-Life” stance.

#### Birth control.

Most of the conventioners wanted to convince me that abortion is murder, but I tried to talk to them about sex and birth control whenever I could. Almost everyone I spoke to favored nonabortive birth control methods; there was even a workshop on it. I confessed that I found it illogical that pro-Life parents, who believe God creates life at conception, had the right to decide when conception

# A RIGHTFUL LIFE

*Right-to-Lifers want to win back the pre-feminist “dignity” of housewifery and motherhood. But it will be a long time before they go home.*



Blacks were the exception at this convention; most of them were in the choir.

should take place. I was surprised to hear people say that God intended sex for pleasure as well as procreation, but I caught on when I learned that sex for pleasure applied to married folk and not to teenagers screwing in the back seat. One wife told me that she practiced birth control because she believed God gave her a mind and expected her to use it. Accidents, however, were God-given, too, so that for women who conceived while using birth control accidents were not accidents, they were blessings.

Many people willingly niggled with me for hours over points like these. We sat at big, round tables, digesting our family-style dinners, engaging in family-style discussions—the kind where the parents are always right, and the children wind up at the drive-in, fornicating. I was not perceived by rank and file Right to Lifers as another adult, but as a confused teenage daughter with too many questions. It seemed that we would never get to the larger issues, say, the constitutionality of the Hyde Amendment, or that the only black people here were in the choir, or the concept that a person with a fetus in her womb is not a mother, but a pregnant woman. It seemed that we would never get to them, and we never did.

The Wilkes, a husband and wife team in their forties who lecture at local Cincinnati high schools, are a prototype Right to Life couple. At their workshop, “Sex Education and Abortion,” they

spoke with their arms around each other. They told parents to show kids that it's worth waiting for, to be affectionate in the home, but not too affectionate. “Where does sex education take place?” asked Dr. Wilke. “On the schoolbus,” muttered the woman next to me.

The Wilkes seek to guide teenagers into adult Christian life against unbelievable odds. I struggled through Christianity as a teenager with enough intensity to remember how seriously I tried to take the advice of people like them. I heard the Wilkes talk down to their audience, just as the rank and file conventioners talked down to me. Barbara Wilke said, “I'm afraid of lightning, but I don't want my kids to be afraid of it. So I tell them the clouds are just bumping, or aren't they pretty, while inside I'm saying, ‘I wish that'd go away.’ It's the same with sex education. Only one of my kids is afraid of lightning, so I figure I've done a pretty good job.” I know that the Wilkes periodically disrupt school board meetings to protest the use of Planned Parenthood birth control films as “pornographic.” But I wish Barbara Wilke luck with her lightning rods. Her fear—of sex, of “lightning”—was evident. I can't help it: I feel much more empathy for Barbara Wilke than I have any business to.

There were women at the convention dedicated to the movement in more

traditionally feminine ways. Some had enough to do just being mothers, and they suckled their babies in the blacked-out modesty of the screening room. At booths set up in the lobby to raise money for individual Right to Life chapters, others displayed afghans and booties crocheted with red roses, a pro-Life symbol. One woman sold tooth fairy pillows, embroidered from handkerchiefs, that I lingered over for minutes. At any other convention I would have bought one for my nephew and mumbled some self-conscious praise for such quality “women's work.”

#### Fractured feminism.

By contrast, a few big-time speakers spouted rhetoric on cue throughout the weekend. Henry Hyde argued the case against abortion by defending the “innocently inconvenient,” and praised his constituents for their selflessness in crusading for the rights of “millions of little people we will never meet.” I voiced my silent protest of his speech by sitting in the front row reading *The Millstone* by Margaret Drabble.

I listened to all of Phyllis Schlafly's anti-ERA message, though. I heard her call the International Women's Year Conference “that disgraceful event,” and noted some dissension in the audience when she spoke out against pregnancy disability. (Most women agreed that their place is in the home, but not all of them are as rich as Phyllis.) I wrote down “fractured feminism” when she was introduced with the words, “There are those among us ones who make us feel incompetent.” Schlafly, bigger than life, her hair frosted 10 shades and swirled like cotton candy, emits celebrity vibes. She was contemptuous of the common men and women who put her in the podium—spouting the rhetoric of the good life and the nuclear family, and racing to the airport to make her next speaking engagement. When people raised their hands to argue the pregnancy disability question, she peremptorily pointed her finger and barked out, “You! You! You!”, impatient to silence them. She underscored her retorts by shuffling her feet, pawing at the floor with her black pumps.

As I stood in the motel lobby Saturday afternoon waiting for a ride in a press car to the proabortion rally in downtown Cincinnati, I thought of one pro-Lifer I'd seen demonstrating outside the abortion clinic that morning. Like the rest, she had a placard, a cardboard silhouette of an infant. Since no one had remembered the sticks or the staples, some demonstrators held their placards over their heads, or at their sides. But she held the cardboard baby in her arms, patting it as if it were real.

Some Cincinnati NOW members dressed in white for the prochoice rally, in memory of illegal abortion victims. I wanted to walk with the women from CARASA, (Coalition for Abortion Rights and Against Sterilization Abuse), but instead I hung out inside Hit or Miss, the national discount clothing store, and looked at pants while the parade went by. I liked the sign, “Women are people, not brood mares,” but worried that the other patrons didn't get it. A woman came into the store, said hello to another customer, and retreated to the back. She was young and sexy, and had a baby about a year old on her hip. There were three other children—two were at Grandma's, one was fishing with Daddy. The cashier at the front of the store looked out at the street and said, “I wonder why they demonstrate. I don't even like to think about abortion.” “They do it because they have nothing better to do,” retorted the young mother, not even looking outside at the many kids and parents marching together. “You can be sure they aren't spending any time raising children.”

Younger mothers like this one aren't peacefully content like the generation before them; they aren't afraid of the unfamiliarity of liberated women's ideas; they are bitter and resentful, willfully ignorant and stuck with too many children. So the rift between women remains. I thought going to the convention would be easier than it was. But I don't plan to attend another one. ■



## ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

## BOOKS

# The hard fight to organize tenant farmers

MEAN THINGS HAPPENING  
IN THIS LAND

By H.L. Mitchell  
Allanheld, Osmun and Co.,  
\$10.95.

By Virginia Durr

This book is based on long and hard experience. It is a true book, and well worth reading carefully. These are the real down-to-earth experiences of a man who tried to organize the most oppressed and desperate people in the South, the sharecroppers.

In the period of which he writes—the great Depression—sharecropping was the main way in which farming in the South was done. After slavery

white people seemed the textile mills, and they went in great numbers. But the black people were barred from these.

H.L. Mitchell writes about these people and about the brave men and women who dared to try to organize them into a union, the Southern Tenant Farmers Union. It is a story of great hope and great despair. Mitchell writes about the sharecroppers and organizers versus the landlords and the law that they controlled, in such a vivid manner that it is alive and thrilling. He captures the incredible courage of the individuals and the organization. His own courage is well proven by the dangers he and his wife endured for so many years.



Sharecropping (above, a tenant farmer) was once the main way Southern farming was done. Below left, H.L. Mitchell, whose memoirs tell the Socialist side of organizing black and white sharecroppers.

was already predestined by the time you were born.

I could never take these socialist vs. communist theological arguments very seriously either, since the evils of sharecropping were so evident, so awful and so

owners hire day labor if they can get it. The family farm is also done for and there is no way whites or blacks can make a good living today on a family-sized farm. If people still live on the farm they have jobs during the week, miles away, and travel by car to and fro.

Lots of the cultivated land is going back into pine trees, which is a good cash crop for pulp wood. Beavers and even bears are being seen in the backwoods. There is silence over the South in the country, where there used to be people living, struggling and working.

I live in a poor county in Alabama, and food stamps seem to have replaced the "furnish" of the landlord, but except for a summer garden, the Southern farmer, the small farmer, the family farmer, is dead, gone and forgotten.

The great struggles of the South have nearly all been lost by dividing black and white, but

in the case of the Southern Tenant Farmer's Union, the struggle was lost by techniques that made the sharecroppers irrelevant to the process of growing cotton. Rayon came in, with other synthetic fabrics, and more and more of the market was lost.

H.L. Mitchell recalls the struggle in terms of the courage and bravery of the men and women who took part in it. He himself is a brave man who still is struggling to tell the younger generation how it was, both by speaking to colleges and organizations and now by his book.

This courage, this sacrifice should inspire other people, especially young people, to know that the South had fighters who dared to risk their lives to defeat a vicious and crippling system of peonage, that destroyed for so long the future of the black and white people of the South. ■

Virginia Durr has been a long-time leader in the Southern civil rights movement.



## Socialists and Communists fought each other with a religious fury during the Depression over a sharecroppers union in the South.

was abolished the yankee promises of "forty acres and a mule" to each of the freed slaves was never carried out. The blacks went into another form of peonage where they were free in name only, but tied to debt and the landlord who "furnished" them until the crop was made. They had a shack to live in, were "furnished" enough food and tools to make a crop, and, depending on the arrangements, "shared" the cotton crop at the end of the harvest. Rarely did they get anything beyond their debt to the landlord for the "furnish" that took them through the long winters.

At the same time the blacks were becoming sharecroppers, the independent white farmer was losing his land and becoming one too. They too lived in shacks and were burdened by debt and rarely made anything over the debt when the crop was "shared."

From my childhood I remember so well the unpainted, cracked shacks, set down in the midst of the cotton plantations. No trees, no garden, no flowers, nothing but a leaky roof, a fireplace and two rooms and a lean to on the back. This was home for millions of black and white Southerners. But it was never home for long because the back roads of the South were filled every fall with desperate families in an old wagon, pulled by a thin mule and piled with their few possessions and many children. They were looking for a better place to live, a better arrangement, a better life, but they rarely found it. The only alternative for the

Mitchell himself early became a dues-paying socialist and a follower and admirer of Norman Thomas. He had the same faith in the Socialist Party that many people in the South have in their religion.

But as the religious people hate the Devil Incarnate, so did Mitchell and the Socialists hate the Communists who were also trying to organize the sharecroppers in other places, especially Alabama. This effort is written about in Theodore Rosengarten's book, *All God's Children*.

I was a witness to this hatred and knew Claude Williams, who was on the Communist side of the issue. I know how he hated the Socialists and also Mitchell. Reading attacks on both sides, I have the same dreary feeling I used to have when my father was a Presbyterian preacher and I used to hear endless discussion of how to be "SAVED" by total immersion or by sprinkling, or even by foot washing if they were Primitive Baptists. I used to hear long sermons about predestination. They were always discouraging, since you could only be saved by grace and that

difficult to eradicate that I felt glad when anyone tried to do anything to relieve the conditions the great majority of the people on the land in the South worked and lived under. I felt sure that the great majority of the sharecroppers felt as I did—grateful indeed for any help they could get, not caring where it came from and having no understanding of the differences and battles between the Socialists and the Communists.

The problems still go on in other ways. Now wage labor is imported from Mexico and the Caribbean. The cotton picker invented by the Rust brothers, and the farm machinery which took the place of the mules, also did away with the sharecroppers and they either went to the cities, went North or disappeared.

### Different days.

Today in the South the farms and plantations are large. It costs about \$100,000 for the machinery to run a cotton farm. The sharecroppers' houses are falling into ruins, and if a machine can't do it, the landlords or



IN THESE TIMES  
is a fresh and badly  
needed voice in  
independent left  
journalism

—I.F. Stone

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NOVEMBER 16

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ST 92



## JOURNALISM

Southern culture  
seen in sports

*"Blood sports" like bear hunting, cock fighting and pro wrestling are only part of the tradition.*



*Southern Exposure's sports issue focuses on an important aspect of Southern culture.*

By Beth Bogart

Sports have been an elusive subject of discussion and action among leftists. Most alternative news publications neglect sports coverage. A recent attempt to organize sports consumers, the Nader-inspired FANS (Fight to Advance the Nation's Sports) dissolved from lack of focus, leadership and members.

Sports "has never had a network of informed progressives working outside the established channels, posing critical questions, offering insightful directing for our thinking and doing," begins the latest special issue of *Southern Exposure*, "Through the Hoop." This collection offers the "chance to explore the rich, contradictory, inspiring, consuming domain of sports in the South and to examine and question our own feelings about play," according to the introduction.

"Through the Hoop" is as much a glimpse into Southern culture as it is into sports. The section on "blood sports" is

particularly revealing, with articles on bear hunting, cock fighting and professional wrestling. Randall Williams' "The Hulk vs. Ox Baker" makes fascinating reading, especially for a Yankee not convinced that pro wrestling was "sporting."

"Part athletic competition and part soap opera, pro wrestling is the only sport many of these fans know, and they are intensely loyal and enthusiastic. In the wrestling ring, good and evil are distinct, and the fans pour into the arena to cheer the good guys and to jeer and curse the bad ones," Williams explains. The National Wrestling Association claims that professional wrestling drew more paying customers than college football, major league baseball, pro football or pro basketball last year.

Southerners are known for their storytelling, and several of the pieces in "Through the Hoop" are good tales worthy of that reputation. John Head's "Great Granddaddy vs. Jackie Robinson" and Larry Goodwyn's "Wonder and Glory in Another Century" are both indulgences

in sports nostalgia that even a reader with no interest in baseball or football would find compelling.

A short essay on a woman who has been sewing baseballs for the Worth Manufacturing Co. for 32 years, Stella McEwin, and a footnote to the sports literature on "an overlooked character, the sissy," are unexpected but welcome additions to the issue.

The issue concludes with Mark Naison's "The Perversion of the Dream," a counterpoint to the other articles, which are largely a paean to sports—its entertainment value, its solidarity between athletes, its community feeling among fans. Naison notes the growing inequalities in the treatment of spectators, the health and safety hazards endemic in modern, organized-from-above sports and the ongoing exploitation of college-level athletes.

*Southern Exposure* is published quarterly by the Institute for Southern Studies; "Through the Hoop" is \$4 from P.O. Box 230, Chapel Hill, NC 27514.

## CULTURE SHOCK

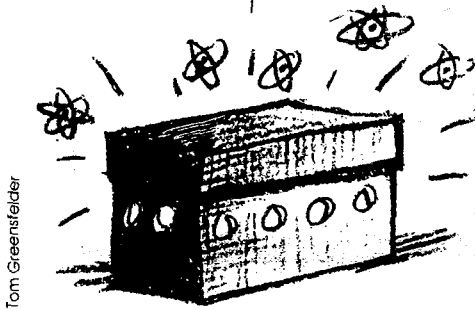
FORM  
FOLLOWS  
FUNCTION

Italian fashion designers have come out with a new line of clothing for nervous executives. Reinforced pant legs known as "kneecappers" are being offered, as well as "bulletproof" underwear reinforced in front and back.

MODERN  
MARKETING

On the cooling heels of the pet rock comes "Hotrok." The rocks, which are garnered a stone's

throw away from the Three Mile Island nuclear plant, come with a booklet describing the accident and a glossary of nuclear terms.



Tom Greenfelder

## CLASSIFIED

## ORGANIZATIONS

**CORPUS**—National Association Registered/Married Priests: Box 2649, Chicago 60690.

**FOR A COOPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH IN MINNESOTA**, contact the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Association, 3200 Chicago Avenue South, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55407

**SOCIALIST PARTY, U.S.A.** There is an alternative to corporate greed and exploitation. There is an alternative to contrived energy crises, and outright lies about the safety of nuclear power. That alternative is democratic socialism—the movement for economic and political democracy. For more information send SASE to:

Socialist Party, U.S.A.  
Dept. T  
135 N. Wells #325  
Milwaukee, WI 53203

## PUBLICATIONS

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By Pat Aufderheide  
and James Weinstein

You approach a film like *The War at Home*—a documentary about the antiwar movement in Madison, Wisc.—with all your guards up. You would like it to be good, but you know it won't be. You would like a history of the antiwar movement, but you know you'll get sentiment and cheerleading.

But *The War at Home* (showing at the Chicago Film Festival Nov. 7) defeats even a hardened skeptic. It's good. It's accurate. It's moving.

Barry Brown and Glenn Silber—producer-directors of Catalyst Films—began this film in 1973, just as the trial of Karlton Armstrong, the man who bombed the University of Wisconsin's Army Math Building and killed a graduate student, finished. They wanted to tell the story of the antiwar movement's development and to explain why Armstrong did what he did.

After several changes of approach, they settled on Emile de Antonio's advice, to make it a theatrical-quality color feature. They used a hitherto untapped resource, lying in storerooms of Wisconsin TV studios: film and video taken for the nightly news, of local events from 1963-1973—demonstrations, sit-ins, police-student confrontations and bombings.

#### Then and now.

The filmmakers give us interviews with a rich variety of personalities. Among the antiwar activists there's Betty Boardman, a Quaker who sailed in a small boat to Hanoi to deliver medical supplies to the Vietnamese. We meet her today, and we also see her during a TV interview a decade ago. The interviewer asks her warily how she feels about this gesture of protest and she says, "I always thought I was doing the right thing. I never doubted it. But you always feel like a fool. (Pause) Is that what you mean?"

We meet an antiwar businessman, who had protested fascism in Germany in the '30s, lived through a concentration camp and had come to Madison after WWII. The filmmakers show him then and now, just as for the others—only "then" for him was '30s Germany. His life's story reminds us that political

## INDEPENDENT FILMS

# The War at Home tells antiwar history well

*Old local TV news footage was the raw material for the Madison documentary.*

commitment is lifelong, and that it can be reactivated whenever there's a reason and a need for it.

And there are those who advocated violence, reminding us how heated the antiwar protest became, how fervent was the conviction of some, and how isolated they grew in their passion.

The film contains an amazing amount of live footage from the events people recall. Most left historical documentaries—*With Babies and Banners*, *Union Maids*, *The Wobblies*—have to make do with historical stills and a few clips of (not necessarily appropriate) film alternating with memories of people interviewed today. But this film can alternate interviews with the people shown in the shots of demonstrations, riots and meetings. It even shows close-up police surveillance photos of those being interviewed.

Because the State of Wisconsin was involved in part of the film's funding, Catalyst had access to police files and to TV studios. Getting usable news footage was not, however, an easy task.

The filmmakers exchanged the right to use the footage for cataloguing all the old film stock. "We looked at hundreds of thousands of feet of film," said Barry Brown. "Altogether it took us a year and a half of full-time cataloguing.



Karlton and Dwight Armstrong as children.

"At one station they led me into a back room and gave me a ladder. I climbed up to a four-foot unventilated cubicle—it was July—and started picking up the film. It was all over the floor; a lot of it was wrinkled. I was a week just getting it into the boxes to move it."

The filmmakers also had to contend with the fact that a lot of the footage—perhaps 80 percent of what ended up in the film—was silent. They did more than cope with the problem, however. They created a soundtrack that is inconspicuously affecting. Josh Waletzky, who with Susan Lazarus and Margie Crimmins edited the sound, also worked on sound for *With Babies and Banners* and *Harlan County, U.S.A.* Working on twelve tracks, the editors matched sound from other demonstrations of the period with silent footage, used special effects for subjective sounds, and finally held a picnic at which they all chanted, for the record, chants that on period sound tracks were too indistinct for their use.

"We wanted to use the sound to draw people in," said Barry Brown. "At one moment, Karl Armstrong describes how, in the 1968 Chicago convention, the cops were beating people up and he ended up with his face in the asphalt. We had a break in his narration and a voice comes in saying, 'Hey, you son of a bitch.' We wanted to give the impression of the crowd—at that moment or personal danger, you're sud-

dently very aware of what's happening right around you. It's a moment of clarity that we wanted to recreate."

#### Sharp focus.

The filmmakers stayed with the story of Madison, the local focus, throughout. Partly because the characters stay the same, and partly because Madison is representative of the antiwar movement in its broad outlines, it's possible to follow the evolution of this movement with a sense of drama. We come to understand why people did what they did, not rhetorically, but by sharing some of their experience.

When Ted Kennedy came to speak on the Madison campus in support of Hubert Humphrey's presidential candidacy, antiwar activists decided to confront him on his hawkish position. We watch him put down an antiwar speaker with slick debating tactics, and we watch the students yelling at him to declare his position. Then Marjorie Tabankin, once student president and now national director of VISTA, describes the aftermath. "A petition was circulated to apologize to Sen. Kennedy for the incident," she says, "and I was undecided—I thought we were right, but I was so ashamed and embarrassed—Should I sign it? Should I not sign it? I finally signed the petition." While she talks we see TV film of students politely lining up to sign the petition at outdoor tables on campus. The incident is a succinct

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measure of the stage and style of confrontation at that moment.

Because the film so unpretentiously and accurately shows us the stages of "the war at home," we come to understand how Armstrong came to bomb the Army Math Center. His own testimony complements the stories of others about the growing desperation activists felt.

Like so many others in the film, Armstrong worked mostly from a good citizen's sense of outrage and shock. A sweet, smalltown boy, he entered the movement at first with deep suspicion and a fear of being labelled "political." Gradually, he came to feel that his conscience wouldn't let him stand to one side, but he couldn't find anything to do that would make a difference.

"The lifestyle of those days revolved around politics," says Paul Soglin, ex-activist and now ex-mayor of Madison. What the film shows—inadvertently perhaps—is the opposite. It shows that the antiwar movement lacked a political perspective and as a result drove itself into both countercultural activity and violence.

The film shows the anti-war movement's constant and escalating reaction to escalating events and to decisions of those in power. It does not show the development of an alternative politics, but a process of outraged awakening. The interviews and archival footage detail the growing disbelief, anger and, finally, a grim lashing out. The film does not show a political challenge to those in power because none developed among the activists.

#### Special benefits.

Silber finds that reactions to the film are a powerful reward (in spite of the fact that the film is still \$50,000 in debt, with another unpaid \$15,000 in lab fees). "For some people the '60s ended the night the film screened," said Silber about its premiere in Madison. "And I feel good knowing we did something that can end up in the schools, where it can have an influence on how people think about that era."

*The War at Home* is part of a filmmaking trend, in Silber's estimation. "There is a movement afoot to set up a New American Cinema, to bring independent films like this to Peoria. But if we're going to do that, we need to make better films, and in a way that doesn't take four and a half years."

Nonetheless, he thinks that the wait for this film—brought on largely by poverty—was lucky. "Documentaries in America only make it, if they make it, because they come out at the right time. The spate of Vietnam films—especially *Apocalypse Now*—gave this film a real boost."

Silber is particularly pleased by one down-home reaction to the film. A cautious, conservative Madison City Council member went to see the film on its premiere. Back in City Council he entered a resolution that Karlton and Dwight Armstrong be paroled (they come up for parole this year). Why? "I just saw *The War at Home*," he said. The Madison City Council voted 13-7 to endorse the resolution. ■  
*After the Chicago Film Festival, The War at Home will be shown in Milwaukee (Nov. 9-10), Cambridge, and on Nov. 15 at Washington D.C.'s Kennedy Center, for the 10th anniversary of the moratorium. Catalyst Films is interested in organizing screenings with community and political groups. P.O. Box 1485, Madison WI 53701.*

## Guindon



"If you enjoyed dinner, Brett and I thought you might be interested in purchasing a T-shirt."



By Jim Mason

**T**HE PASTORAL FARM OF YOUR childhood coloring books has become more like something from science fiction. Pigs, chickens and cows have been moved from sunny fields to dark buildings, crowded into cages and narrow stalls by the hundreds and thousands and, on some farms, stacked like so many shipping crates.

There is mounting evidence that new-wave "factory" methods of animal farming endanger small, diversified farming, the safety and quality of our food and the health of our environment. Called "confinement" or "controlled environment" systems by the agricultural establishment, these animal factories are part of the trend toward an increasingly expensive, complex, capital and energy-intensive kind of agricultural technology.

Factory systems vary in degree of complexity and extent of mechanization. At the lower end of the scale are open-air feedlots for grain-feeding of cattle and pigs. In these, feed is usually delivered by trucks or conveyors and wastes drain off into holding ponds. At the other end of the scale are "total confinement" systems in which poultry, pigs or calves never see the light of day until they are taken to the slaughterhouse. Egg-laying hens spend one to two years crowded eight and nine to an eighteen- by twenty-four-inch cage. For three months at a stretch, pregnant sows are confined to stalls scarcely larger than their bodies. To reduce stress and activity, totally-confined animals are kept in darkness except at feeding time. Belts, chains, pulleys, fans, switches, pumps and other gear feed and water the animals, carries away their waste and manipulates light, temperature, humidity and air flow in their artificial environment.

The new ways are solidly established. About 95 percent of egg-laying hens, virtually all broilers and turkeys and half or more of beef cattle, dairy cows and pigs are maintained in some type of factory system.

Confinement and mechanization permit the maintenance of a larger number of animals in a given space. They afford tighter controls over feeding and environmental factors and they reduce the labor in feeding, waste removal and other chores. "Commercially extraneous behaviour" is suppressed—chickens don't need to scratch and flap their wings and pigs don't need to root and wallow.

#### No beaks, no tails.

But the industrialization of animals has also created a chain of new problems for producers. Though not generally recognized, farm animals are intelligent, social and have emotions. In alien, crowded environments they are often bored, frustrated or fearful—or "stressed," as animal scientists would say. When an animal is stressed, its defenses are down and it is more prone

## The Industrial Pig, the Mechanical Chicken

*Corporate animal factories breed  
poisoned meat and new pollution.*

to infectious diseases. In crowded buildings and pens, the likelihood and frequency of aggressive encounters among animals is increased. Less aggressive ones cannot get away or effectively make the show of submission dictated by instinct. So relentless pecking among poultry and tail-biting among pigs are common in factory systems and, if not controlled, proceed to outbreaks of cannibalism. "Controls" are simple: Poultry producers routinely "debeak" their birds and pig producers routinely cut off the tails of young pigs.

Males lose sex drive, females' estral cycles become irregular and young animals are slow to mature sexually. In attempts to compensate for these problems, factory operators have stepped up manipulations of animals' reproductive functions. In some of the most intensively-managed factory pig and cattle operations, females are dosed with hormones to synchronize their estral cycles, to cause "super-ovulation" (production of an unusually large number of ova) or to tune in labor contractions and delivery time to the factory schedule.

The "controlled environment" of an animal factory can be a hothouse of air pollution and air-borne germs. Even with powerful ventilators in use, the air in pig and poultry factories contains dust raised by mechanical feeders and excited animals. Factory air often

contains ammonia and other irritating gases from manure pits under stalls and cages. Because factory buildings are usually in use year round and isolated from the cleansing effects of sunlight and rain, they develop what producers call "bacteria build-up." To hold down losses, they attempt to sterilize their buildings between "crops" of animals with arsenals of hot water, high-pressure hoses, acids, cleansers and disinfectant chemicals. During the production cycle, many producers follow "health programs"—doses of sulfa, antibiotics, vitamins and other medications at regular intervals—to reduce incidence of diseases.

Nearly all poultry, most pigs and veal calves and 60 percent of cattle get antibiotic additives in their feed. 75 percent of pigs eat feed laced with sulfa drugs. Cattle feeders use a variety of hormones and other additives to promote rapid weight gains in their animals.

Dangerous residues of these substances end up in meat and poultry products. 14 percent of meat and poultry sampled by the U.S. Department of Agriculture between 1974 and 1976 contained illegally high levels of drugs and pesticides. According to a report by the General Accounting Office, "of 143 drugs and pesticides GAO identified as likely to leave residues in raw meat and poultry, 42 are known to cause or are suspected of causing cancer; 20 of

causing birth defects and six of causing mutations."

#### Superfarmers.

In the poultry business, the pre-WW II industry of small, independent farmers and processors has been replaced by one of a handful of large, vertically-integrated corporations, a fraternity of professional scientists, engineers and consultants and a labor force relegated to routinized work. As late as 1959, nearly 60 percent of broilers and most turkeys were grown by independent farmers and sold to processors on the open market. Today the industry consists of some 50 agribusiness corporations that produce over 90 percent of broiler chickens.

Now small pig, dairy and beef farmers are being displaced by investor-owned agribusiness corporations. Typical of these is Tyson Foods, Inc., and Arkansas-based, vertically-integrated firm with \$220 million in annual sales. Over the past few years, this company has been buying up pig factories from farmers in Arkansas, Missouri, Oklahoma, Nebraska, North Carolina and possibly other states. With 30,000 breeding sows in confinement, it is perhaps the largest pig producer in the United States.

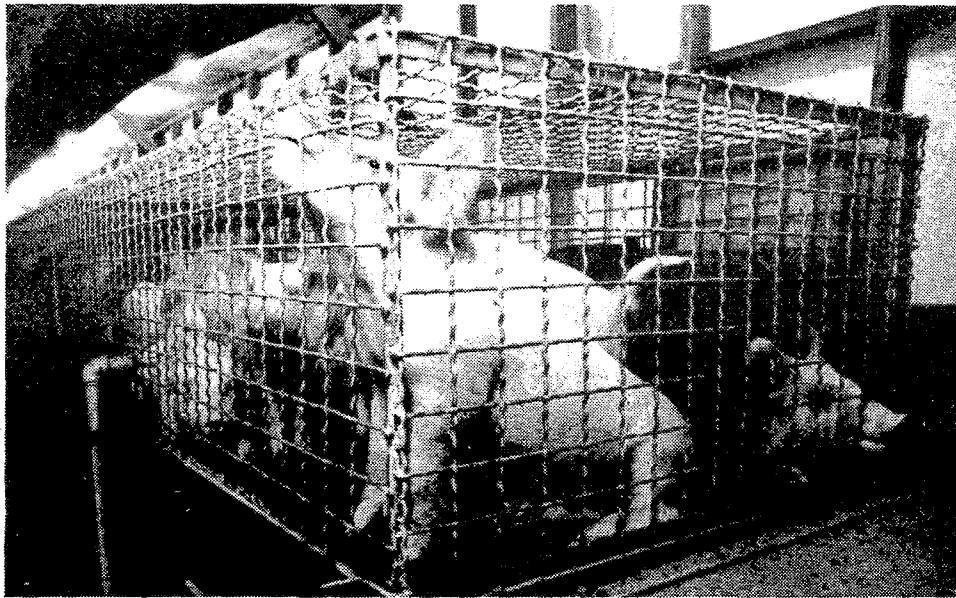
Much support for factory farming comes from the federal government in the form of tax incentives and loan programs. Under recent changes in the Internal Revenue Code, highly specialized factory buildings and equipment qualify for an investment credit deduction from income taxes while all-purpose conventional farm buildings do not. Nebraska's Center for Rural Affairs recently found that the Small Business Administration has set its own size standard-permitting funding of factory operations with up to \$1 million in gross sales and has been routinely financing pig factories in the top one percent of sales volume.

Animal factories contribute to pollution problems. On conventional farms most animals are unconfined and can disperse their wastes over the land with no detrimental effects. Odor problems are minimal because wastes either dry or dissolve into the soil rapidly. On factory farms, however, animals and land are separated with the result that restoring nutrients to the soil is risky, expensive and time-consuming.

More subtle but potentially more dangerous, perhaps, is a shocking new kind of pollution. Extensive use of antibiotics since WW II has unloaded these substances in the environment and exposed them to a broad range of microorganisms. As a result, familiar bacterial diseases—diarrhea, septicemia, psittacosis, salmonella, gonorrhea, pneumonia, typhoid, childhood meningitis and others—are returning in new forms that are resistant to these "wonder drugs."

*Jim Mason is co-author with Peter Singer of Animal Factories, (Crown), to be published in Spring 1980.*

Caged piglets and body-to-body poultry show modern farming methods.



J.A. Keller



J.A. Keller